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of the Dahomean kingdom by the French. All other walls are of swish. Today in West Africa the automobile and sewing machine have found their way into remote corners. But more important still than these changes wrought by European civilizations, which have made inroads chiefly on the material life of the Africans, are those resulting from intertribal wars, which followed the introduction of guns and gunpowder into Africa and which helped to establish the great West African dynasties. The result of the conquest of one native people by another was constant cultural interstimulation which made for changes in the indigenous civilizations.

In the Guiana bush, however, where these runaway Negroes and their descendants have been living, the fortunes of African kingdoms, the cultural contacts that have affected the Africans, have not touched their own tribal destinies. Neither has the civilization of the white man nor that of the Indian introduced basic changes into their manner of living or thinking.

There are no roads in the Guiana bush, and what footpaths exist to connect one village with another are difficult to follow and, moreover, are not for the stranger, whether he be white or mulatto. For such as these the highway is the river, with native paddlers alert in their surveillance of a stranger's activities. The old men on the river have made a tradition of recalling the struggle of the ancestors for freedom and survival, and it is not without significance that one of the three worst crimes among the Bush Negroes—one that ranks with incest and murder—is informing on a Negro to a white man.

In contrast with this isolation of the Bush Negroes, the Negroes of Paramaribo have known close contact with the whites, with Carib and Arawak Indians, and in more recent years with the Hindu and Javanese laborers brought to the colony. Only suggestions of the manner in which the beliefs of town and bush correspond or differ can be included here, since this account concerns itself with the Saramacca people. Yet for the understanding of this study it must be

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203 And did men speak into the horn, and sing? Would there be no harm to the *ak'a*—the soul?

[193] Their own trickster, Ananси, the spider, working with his fabulous cunning, could not have spun the stories about the whites faster than had the passing boats. From boat to boat, from boat to shore, from shore to village the news went. Had the white man come with guns, or had he come accompanied by many others, then, to be sure, it would have been a matter for the drums. But the vagaries of a white man coming with his wife are of no ritual concern. The drums would only sound on occasions of moment; to sum-
[534] mon the men for a council of the clan or to ask, ritually, for the health of a chief; to tell of death; or to speak to the gods themselves. But for a white man with his woman, gossip was good enough to carry the news.

609 Up and down the river, in the villages where they had visited the year before, many a woman to whom the Bakra had given a string of yellow beads, or a large glittering safety pin to put in her hair as an ornament, or, better still, a large tin can out of which her husband had fashioned a broad band to be worn on her arm, one which glistened as it reflected the pale light of the moon during a dance—such a woman heard of the coming of the Bakra with pleasure. She had them all, these gifts, safe in the carved calabash on which she had incised the sinuous lines of the snake spirit that gave her fertility, and now that the gourds were ripening once again, she would carve another to hold the new things that the whites would bring her.

The young men, too, heard of their coming with pleasure. For would not the strange ways of the Bakra and his woman give them many witty new things to put into words and sing to the traditional seketi tunes, the secular songs that they would later sing in the intervals of the religious dances? It was good to make up new words, which made a man the center of the dance. Ambe! But the women loved the man who could put clever new words to their dance songs!

The children heard the news with fear, for at four, at five, they were not too young to have learned of the enormi-

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ties of the white men of long ago and the deeds of their slave ancestors, who had won for them freedom in this bush.

But what of the old men? What of them who govern and know proverb and parable to fit all ceremonial occasions, whose word is final in clan councils? What of those who call the gods and speak to the ancestors and who, surpassing all else in wisdom, know how to control *obia*, the great healing spirit which Nyankompon, the Sky God, created after he had brought earth and water into being, so that man might live? At the landing place of the balata camp, a group of such men were gathered and stood about talking. A Loango elder who was on his way to visit his relatives at Kadyu, his lower river clan village, had espied a clansman on the shore and had come up in his boat.

"A man and a woman came. And they are going up the river until . . . until beyond the Mamadam and Baikutu, until . . . past the Felulasi Falls, until . . . they come to the Tapa Water and into the Pekien Rio, and until . . . they arrive at the Granman's village."

The speaker, a younger man who had come from up river to the death ceremonies at Gankwe spoke with a certain eagerness, and made of the telling a long recital, drawing out the singsong word "*te*"—until—more and more with each repetition, and in this way intensifying both the distance and the hardships in these vast and vaster stretches.

"Ayo! A long way. Will the Ga'ma' let them come?"

"Ya-hai, tio! You must ask, will the gods let them come!"

"Kere, kere! You must ask if the ancestors will let them come!"

"They carry no guns."

"Then they bring us their gods."

"Kweti-kweti! And that's what I don't understand. They say they come to learn."

"By Ando! But what does that mean?"

"Well, they speak the proverb down below, they say: 'It isn't for nothing that the worm crawls from side to side.'"

"Massa Neng'e, but it's true, true."

"The white man wants to get the black man's obia."

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609 "The whites have wars against each other. . . . "
203 "Our ancestors. . . "
698 Before the last speaker could finish, a man broke in with a prayer. His voice was conversational and sounded as though he were addressing someone present.

"Great Sky God,
Kediamo, Kediampon,
Mother of the River,
Sacred ancestors,
Grant that if the white man comes for evil
His race end.
Grant that if the white woman comes for evil
Her womb wither, her line perish."

609 But the Loango headman shook his head and said, "The
203 gods will deal with them, have no fear. Do you remember
698 the man who was drowned at the Mamadam, and the one
796 who died way beyond the Granman's country, and that other one, the soldier? They came with evil in their hearts. The gods killed them. The gods will deal with these, too."

And another said: "Let them go up the river. The gods know all. The ancestors know all. This is our land, and our earth spirits will protect us, and they will kill our enemies. This is our river. Our river gods will protect us, and kill our enemies. This is our bush. The gods of the bush are strong. The gods of the bush know their bush children. They know their children's enemies."

Then the Loango elder spoke again: "We have the gods
[186] from Africa. They are more than all gods. The African gods know all. They will watch over us. We have the obia spirits, the African obia spirits. Mati, friends, let them go up the river. Have no fear. Our gods are with us."

The men's soft, sober voices spoke the words without emotion. Theirs were the voices of destiny. Well might the answering chorus intone the affirmations, while the colloquy went on of leader and chorus, leader and chorus, now one taking up the main theme, now another. To us the cadenced speech came floating softly on the still air.

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Seeing him, our host gave an exclamation of pleasure. "But this is Ajako, the husband of Granman Yankuso's daughter!"

"*Kuma, Bakra. Kuma, Bakra muye*—Good morning, white man, good morning, white woman," he said, and our answer was, "*Ajako, kuma*—Ajako, good morning."

Had we awakened, no? This, in the Saramacca idiom, was how one asked if we were well, if we were alive, since the euphemism for death is sleep. We answered him in their patterned phrase.

"*Hafu ayo*," we said, using their equivalent for fairly well, only half so.

Ajako laughed. The white man had learned. "Are you no better? I hear the gods like you well," he replied.

And so the conversation went on, each giving account of himself.

Finally Ajako said, "Granman Yankuso waits for you, Bakra. He sends you his greetings, and says he will welcome you in Asindopo Lantiwe, his village. You have the freedom of the river. The village chiefs know of your coming. They will receive you. The river is not too high now, for top-side the rains are at an end. Here on the lower river, too, rocks that today are under water will appear tomorrow or the next day. The water is not too high now. The Granman sends word to you that you can start."

But what of him? Would he not come with us as our chief paddler, to show us the way through the many channels? But he smiled and said he was going to the Marowyne. He could not turn back, he told us, for he had the boats to sell, and money to earn there, while his wife was nursing her infant. When the child was seventeen, eighteen months old, then he would be back with his wife again, cutting new fields for her, and making children. While the infant was at the breast, he would be away working.

There was more talk, leading gently—*safri*, softly, as the Bush Negro himself says—to the subject of certain unfriendly villages. There were two of them up the river that

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had not acted well toward the Granman. It would be best if we did not stop there. At the others the Granman could assure us hospitality. Then there was talk of hauling wood and making rafts, for our host, who knew these people well, moved safri, too, until he at last felt the moment had come to talk about buying a boat from Ajako.

When the arrangements of the sale were concluded, Ajako came back to talk with us. He had heard that we had a machine which the Kromanti spirit had broken, was it true? Did it really go again? They said the Bakra had much cunning. They said the Bakra knew African magic.

The Bakra said he knew something about Africa. The Ashanti people, for instance, were a fine people.

"*Ma na Asante, na Sa'macca srm-* . . . —But the Ashanti are Saramacca. . . . " But he would go no further, having spoken only one syllable of the word for people. He became guarded. Yes, there were some Anago people from Africa on this Saramacca River, and Dahomey, and Loango, and Fanti; the Ibo peoples were not on this river. . . . And again he would say no more. Later, when we had changed the subject, he said as if in both gratitude and explanation, "*Na sa-i-'akisi, a tranga poi*—You ask about strong things."

But he would sing into our machine, if we liked. He would sing Kromanti, if we wanted him to do so. "I won't fight your machine," he said, smiling.

"*Anabobi, Anabobi,*
Anabobi, Anabobyo,
Tata Ando.
Anabobi, Ando,
Anabobi,
Tata Adjaini,
Anabobyo
Tata Fa'aku."

"They will understand this in Africa," he said, gravely, and then he moved toward the doorway and stood there

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622 "It is the coat of a chief. All chiefs wear these coats
292 At the G'aman's we wear the best we have."

[293] We looked at his silver-topped wand of office. "Do all chiefs carry these?" we asked.

"Not every chief has a stick like mine. And all chiefs do not have one of these." He pointed to the crescent of silver which hung from a chain about his neck.

"It is beautiful."

"Ya-hai. And it's old."

Embossed on the silver plaque were the arms of Holland, richly worked.

622 "After the time of running away, when the fighting was
648 over between our ancestors and the whites, these were given
293 to us, and the wands of office. But not all chiefs have their
643 wands from the white man. Some have the ones we call 'free sticks.' A man who has a 'free stick' is not a chief for the white man, but we know that he is a chief."

He added that the whites had made an agreement with the escaped Negroes that if they would no longer raid the plantations and carry away slaves with them they would be considered free men in their bush, under the white man's government. Since that time the Bush Negro Granman and certain of the village chiefs had had official recognition, and as a token of this each of them had been given a uniform, a [292] high hat, a crescent with the arms of Holland worked on it, a silver-headed staff, and an annual stipend.

"The chiefs who have 'free sticks,' the white man does not pay."

576 As we spoke of these things, we were interrupted from time to time by the noiseless brushing aside of the cloth which hung above the door, and the entrance of one of our men, or a man of the Granman's village, who brought in our canisters and hammocks. With not even a glance in our direction, they would leave as noiselessly and return to the river. Through the slatted side walls we could hear the sounds of such activity as we had not thought possible in the tropics.

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623 574 643 "Bassia," said the Granman, as he turned to the young man who had come to announce the krutu to us, "go and tell the lanti the white man has come. Tell the lanti the white man must be fed. All who come to this place must eat. Tell the people they must hunt and fish. Let them bring their kill to us here. Let them bring the fish they catch in their traps. Let all know, and may the gods favor their hunting."

"Ai, clever master," came the response, as the bassia left to issue the orders of the Granman.

623 648 "Bak'a," he said, turning to us, "you come from the city of the white man. The G'aman of the white man, in the white man's city, two moons ago, sent a message to us. It is here." He rose from his chair, and reached for several envelopes which were inserted in the chains of the hanging lamp. "What has been written, we cannot read. You know the writing that white men know. Read what the G'aman of the white man has said."

We opened the letter, with its great official seal. In it was a message from the Governor of the Colony, telling Granman Y'ankuso of our projected trip to the country of the Saramacca people, asking that we be received by him at his village. All this was read in its translation and transmitted to the Granman by our town man. As he spoke, it was the Granman who punctuated his pauses with the ceremonial affirmations.

"So it is."

"So I hear."

"It is as I know."

All listened attentively to the reading of the letter, and when it was concluded, the Granman turned to the members of the krutu.

"Captain Awagi, when I go to the white man's city, word is sent on ahead so that the people of the city know when the G'aman of the Saramacca people comes. So it is in the bush. When a white man comes to the bush, it is well that from the white man's city they tell me who is coming."

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THE COUNCIL OF THE ELDERS

"Kodo!"

"Another letter has come, Bak'a. Will you read that one, too?"

This was a communication written by a lumber factor down the river. One of the villages, it seemed, was in dispute with another over timber rights. The case was laid before the Granman by the factor, who asked that the controversy be settled promptly, since the dispute was keeping the men of both villages from cutting the lumber which had been promised him.

Yankuso now spoke again: "You have heard the message, friends. The man who buys timber asks that I settle this dispute between two of our clans. Their villages are far from here. The clans of the Saramacca people can settle their own disputes."

"Gbolo!"

"So I say, friends. I can look at the cows, but from a distance I cannot tell how many there are. It is not for us here to decide this."

"*Kweti, kweti!*—No, no!"

"It is true, friends, as the Saramacca people say, 'The G'aman's breasts are for all his children.' But it is not my children who have come to me. Bak'a," he said, suddenly turning to us, "later you will write for me to this man who buys lumber. Tell him that for the sake of sweet soup a man eats sour dumplings. So I say."

The Granman looked about him. The heat of midday filled the darkness of the council house, and old Bibifo had dozed off. The gaze of the chief fixed him.

"Mati!" he said, when Bibifo stirred. "Sleep is death!"

Slowly the Granman's eyes circled the room until they came to us.

"The Bak'a has come," he repeated, with his slow intonation, every syllable clearly enunciated. "When the Bak'a came, the rain fell. From Asindopo Lantiwe we shot guns of welcome, from Abenda Konde guns were shot. In the heavens, the gods spoke them welcome. There was thunder."

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morning, they tell us when we call on them. That is the black man's way.

"You white people have money, you have fine houses, you wear clothes, you can count. They tell me that you say in your books all people must be friends. But you have wars. If white people kill white people, then *mati*—friend—how will it be with black people living among the whites?"

Granman Yankuso rose, when he said this, and took from the chains of the suspended lamp a folded envelope. He handed it to us, and from it we took out a letter on the stationery of the League of Nations, signed by its Secretary, Sir Eric Drummond. As we were reading this, he left the council house and soon returned with a larger envelope, which he had kept uncreased, and from it brought out a photograph of the Council of the League of Nations in session. They were his proud possessions. While the World War lasted there was no work for the Bush Negroes on the river. They could not earn the money they needed to buy cloths for marrying and powder and rum for ceremonial usage. The Bush Negroes called it a "great money famine," in the way of their Ananzi stories which so often began with "This was a time of great famine." Through a missionary on the upper river, the Granman learned of the war, and through him later of the League, which the missionary had undoubtedly brought up as the white man's defense against the challenge of the black tribal head, who asked, "How will it be with black people living among the whites?"

It was then that the Granman through this same missionary addressed himself to the white rulers far away, telling of the fear of the blacks, and counseling them the wisdom of peace!

4

In the council house Granman Moana Yankuso was host to the Gankwe men. They were there to take their leave of him before starting down river. Asikanu, the handsome brother of the Gankwe clan head, who was sent away from his village while the elders were deciding upon his adultery

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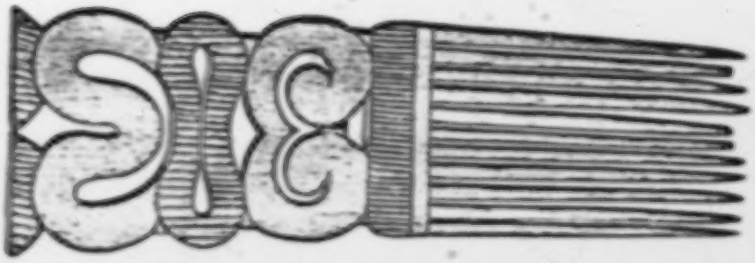

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Chapter One

THE BLACK REBELLION

A GUINEA SLAVER, tacking up to Paramaribo. In the hold lay shackled Negroes, their bare bodies glistening with sweat. "Black Ivory" they were called.

Entrapped savages from the West Coast, transported nearly three thousand miles in slaving ships to the Dutch settlement in South America. Three months at sea, and they looked like leather-covered skeletons, those who were still alive.

Packed in a small space, without enough room to lie down, the slaves were forced to take turns at stretching out on the deck to sleep. The others squatted close together, straddling the ones lying down. The night air being considered pernicious, the portholes were closed when evening came, leaving the blacks to suffocate during the fetid dark hours. Sometimes the bare planks, combined with the rolling motion of the ship, rubbed off skin and flesh, leaving patches of bone exposed. Blood and filth were strewn about in an indescrib-

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A [For caption, see category 116, p. 204. -- Analyst]

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able mess. Only one in twenty survived the ordeal; the bodies of those who succumbed were dropped overboard to be covered over in a swirl of water. The ship went on.

The Surinam is a tan river. There is a sharp line where it meets the deep green of the Atlantic. Twenty miles up the winding stream is Paramaribo, the end of the voyage.

Hot wind blew the ship along, wafting away the odour of flesh. The ship turned and tacked around the broad slow bends of the river. Some of the Negroes realized that the voyage was over and became hysterical, expecting to be killed and eaten. Kidnapped from many different tribes of Africa, speaking no language but their local dialects, they had no way of knowing the fate in store for them. The cruelties of the voyage made them anticipate the worst. As a matter of fact, their immediate fate was to be sold to the planters of the Surinam, to labour on the sugar plantations of the colony. Perhaps the mangrove swamps beside the river recalled their former home.

On the western coast of Africa, between the Senegal River and the Congo country, particularly the Gulf of Guinea, lay the hunting-ground of the slave trader. Somewhere along the Ivory Coast or Gold Coast these Negroes were captured. To facilitate the handling of large numbers of slaves, forts were set up at intervals along the coast, under the command of Europeans. Here Negroes were accumulated in large pens, awaiting shipment. These "factories," as they were called, obtained the blacks by kidnapping them, or by bartering with tribes of the interior, who took them

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captive in jungle wars. A raid on an African village, for the purpose of obtaining captives to sell as slaves, is described by an eye-witness, Captain Richard Drake, an Englishman who was captured and held prisoner by a tribe in Dahomey:

"When the night was somewhat advanced, the main portion of our force set off in small parties to creep on the unsuspecting town, and in about an hour a bright flame shot up followed by a chorus of yells, cries, and groans. In a few minutes the whole valley seemed in flames. From the brow of the hill I could see the Dahoman warriors running about whirling their weapons. The naked women and children were flying in all directions and in the light from the blazing huts I could see the wretched people rushing from the flames to be received on the spear points of their enemies. It was nearly morning when the work of capture and massacre was finished. . . . When we reached our valley there was a great feast and old King Mammee sat on his pile of sheepskins and distributed feathers to the principal men, and his priests made a solemn sacrifice of two young boys to the King's fetish. The poor lads were cut to pieces with knives by the women soldiers and afterwards burned before the idol."

Massacred by enemy tribes in the interior, taken to the coast face downward in dugout canoes, thrown into slave pens where many died, then the horrible voyage down the Middle Passage on a blood-washed slaving ship, to work under the lash on the sugar plantations of Dutch Guiana,

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these captive Negroes experienced the lowest degree of human misery. They were mere beasts. Their civilizations of Songhay and the Mellestine were forgotten.

Paramaribo, where the slaves landed, was then the only city in the Dutch settlement. It resembled a little piece of Holland transplanted to South America. Settled originally by the British, it was given to Holland in 1674 in exchange for the present city of New York, which was a crafty trade. Settlers from Holland gave the colony a Dutch atmosphere that it retains to this day. On this "wild coast" were to be found women in wooden shoes and burghers with long clay pipes.

A crowd usually gathered on the wharves at Paramaribo to watch a slaver put in. Planters in enormous hats and silken shirts walked conspicuously about, anxious to obtain more man-power for their fields. The Negroes were not going to be eaten, as they feared, but perhaps that would have been preferable for some of them. A landing of slaves in Dutch Guiana, some time later, was witnessed by Captain Drake:

"The blacks were landed at once and two days later were placed on sale in the market. There was a scarcity of hands on the sugar plantations and good prices were paid for the slaves. The Dutch maids, in short green jackets and scarlet petticoats, walked around inspecting the naked Africans as if it were a common thing. The auctioneer sat on a high chair at one end of the large room and the slaves stood on a stool in front of him. He made them turn round about,

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as they stood in their breech-cloths before the people, and the purchasers walked up and felt of them to try their flesh and soundness. The darkies were obliged to go through every sort of motion. It seemed at times as if their arms would be pulled out of joint or their jaws cracked by some of the Dutchmen. One dame was not satisfied until she forced a wench to screech by squeezing her breast cruelly. In two days the vendue was over. The grown men fetched as high as a thousand guilders and the boys and girls and women from seven to eight hundred, which were considered good prices."

The slaves were then put to work in the sugar fields. The overseers treated them cruelly and enjoyed it, with the callousness of their century; overseers in Virginia and Jamaica were doing the same with no less zeal. The planter's lash was often "incrusted with blood."

Inevitably some Negroes tried to run away. Near by was the jungle, a refuge from the white terror. From time to time runaway blacks succeeded in escaping into the bush. There they joined other fugitives, forming small bands.

The character of the country favoured them. The undergrowth is so thick that overland travel is impossibly laborious and slow. The rivers, save for a short distance near the ocean, are unnavigable because of their torrential rapids. The Surinam, up which the slave ships sailed to Paramaribo, has seldom been explored to its extreme upper reaches; it is *terra incognita* to white men.

The fugitives were quite at home in the jungle. In this

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● 448 175 natural sanctuary they reverted to their African habits of living and began to multiply. Recapture being impossible, their bondage to the white man was definitely over. They propagated and prospered, but they did not forget those slave days behind them. Armed with firelocks and lances they began making raids on the outlying plantations. Revenge!

Resolute bands of them would descend on a plantation and massacre the whites. After carrying off the gunpowder, firelocks, and hatchets which they badly needed, burning the mansion, and freeing the slaves, they would disappear as quickly as they had come, leaving the colonists fuming at their impotence to punish them.

By 1726, but fifty years after the Dutch acquired Surinam, there was a large body of rebel slaves living in the bush around the Saramacca River. They were intrepid and merciless raiders—where would they have learned the meaning of mercy? Two years later a small military expedition was sent out from Paramaribo against them, but it was ineffectual. Back in the bush the Negroes were more than a match for the white man.

In 1730 the colonists succeeded in capturing eleven Bush Negro rebels and killed them by slow torture. One black was hanged to a tree by an iron hook thrust through his ribs; after being suspended thus for several days he finally died. Two were burned to death over a slow fire. Six women were broken on the rack, and two girls were decapitated. The tortures were endured heroically until death brought release.

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The rebels were enraged. Their depredations became more fierce. Now a rich planter would be paddling desperately down to Paramaribo in the dark jungle night, leaving behind him a burning mansion in whose eerie light infuriated Negroes danced, triumphant over the sacking of a white man's home. Or perhaps there would be no survivor to tell of the night attack, but only some charred ruins, no less eloquent, in the morning. The colonists lived in constant terror, dreading attacks that did not come and paralysed with rage and fear over those that did.

The whites had blindly brought upon themselves the necessity, almost, of abandoning the colony. Unnecessary ill-treatment had driven the rebels to an extremity of revenge; inhuman tortures had seared in their brains a deep hatred for the masters. It is true that some of the plantation owners were as kindly disposed as the custom of the age permitted, but most of the planters ill-used their slaves. There was nothing to prevent it; the magistrates were fellow-planters, and no Negro could bring legal testimony. The black had no redress except in blood. The idea of revolt spread.

After twenty years of intermittent raiding, the colonists had had enough of it; Governor Mauricius, the head of the colony, sent a detachment of troops into the bush to find the rebels and conclude a treaty of peace, "so ardently desired." After some skirmishing they arrived at the rebel headquarters and opened negotiations with the Bush Negro chief, named Adoe. There, in 1749, a treaty was signed, the conditions of which were dictated by the rebel blacks. Chief Adoe

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was presented with a large cane bearing the arms of Surinam, and, a more material gain, he extracted from the white negotiators a promise to turn over to him a large supply of arms and ammunition, along with other presents. As a pledge of friendship, Adoe presented them with a bow and arrows. Then the troops returned to Paramaribo.

The news of the treaty was variously received. Many planters expressed satisfaction, others doubted whether peace would be lasting. Some denied the advisability of handing out to the rebels more firelocks and gunpowder. As one man expressed it: "I must indeed confess that, notwithstanding the good intentions of Governor Mauricius, nothing appears to be more dangerous than making a forced friendship with people who, by the most abject slavery and ill usage, are provoked to break their chains and shake off their yoke in pursuit of revenge and liberty, and who, by the trust which is placed in them, have it in their power to become from day to day more formidable."

The following year the promised presents were sent upstream: checked linen and salt beef, spirits and salt pork, firearms and ammunition. The caravan was intercepted by an independent band led by a rebel called Zam Zam, who carried off the stock and murdered the carriers. Chief Adoe waited for the presents which did not come, and after long waiting finally concluded that they had never been sent, that the white men had cheated him with false promises. He declared the peace broken, and resumed the raids.

Thus an accident reopened the series of terroristic scenes;

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death and destruction again spread throughout the plantations. The imprudent governor was recalled to Holland, and never returned. Six hundred Dutch troops arrived as reinforcements for the colony, but they could not allay the distress. Besides the Saramacca rebels, a new revolt started in the region of the Tempati Creek, and was immediately successful. Dutch troops sent against it were defeated repeatedly. By 1757 the whites were again compelled to sue for peace, and a parley was agreed to.

The colonists were represented by two commissioners, Sober and Abercrombie, who carried presents with them to the Tempati rebels under the command of Chief Araby. He represented the new generation of Bush Negroes, born not in Africa but in the South American bush and having no personal memory of the slave ships. He received the white commissioners politely, and quieted their apprehensions regarding the ensuing parley.

During the negotiations a rebel captain named Boston became irate at the commissioners' presents and wanted to know whether the Europeans thought that the Bush Negroes could live on combs and looking-glasses. He ended his oration with a demand that the two commissioners be held as hostages. Another captain, bearing the African name of an Ashanti chief, Quaco, took the opposite side and spoke in defence of the white representatives. Finally Chief Araby dictated the terms of peace, making Abercrombie draw up a list of conditions to be agreed to, and merchandise to be delivered. The Dutch government was allowed a year to

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deliberate; at the end of that time it could choose either peace or war. The Negroes were ready for either.

When a bush chief finishes speaking, all the members of the gathering nod their heads and say *"Daso,"* or "That's so." As Araby finished, there was a general murmur of *"Daso."* The parley concluded with an elaborate entertainment for the commissioners, after which they were sent back to Paramaribo, accompanied by no escort, but with these proud instructions:

"We desire you to tell your Governor and your court that in case they want to raise no new gangs of rebels they ought to take care that the planters keep a more watchful eye over their own property, and do not trust them so frequently in the hands of drunken managers and overseers, who by wrongfully and severely chastising the Negroes, debauching their wives and children, neglecting the sick, etc., are the pain of the colony and wilfully drive to the woods such members of stout active people who by their sweat earn your subsistence and without whose hands your colony must drop to nothing and to whom at last in this disgraceful manner you are glad to sue for friendship."

Suing for peace, with the Negroes they had formerly owned body and soul! There was a vast difference between these arrogant, victorious blacks and the whipped slaves still coming over the Middle Passage. These men were no longer servile; they were free.

At the conclusion of the year of grace two commissioners came up the river again, bringing with them the required

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presents; again the white man acknowledged his defeat. The ~~618~~ 175 presents were delivered to the Bush Negroes at Joca Creek, where the parley had been held, fifteen miles east of Tempati. Here at the Ouca Plantation in 1761 a treaty of twelve or fourteen articles was signed by the white commissioners and sixteen blacks. They all took the sacred oath and drank each other's blood, mixed with spring water and ceremonial clay, from a calabash cup, while the *Gadoman* or high priest "with upcast eyes and outstretched arms took heaven and earth to witness."

The multitude responded *"Daso."*

Araby delivered four of his captains as hostages to Paramaribo, where they were entertained at the Governor's table. Considering an oath sacred, the Negroes never violated the treaty. They adhered to it so strictly that, when other Negroes escaped, this tribe helped the whites recapture them, thus incurring the enmity of many of their own people.

No sooner had the treaty been signed with one tribe than a fresh rebellion broke out in another part of the colony. The next revolt, at Berbice, was unsuccessful; the Bush Negroes were defeated and their villages looted. The whites were aided in this by three tribes of native Indians, the Caribs, Acaways, and Arawaks. When the Dutch general handed some Bush Negro loot over to these Indian allies, his own troops became dissatisfied and deserted. Seventy deserters marched overland through the bush, attempting to join the Spaniards on the Orinoco River. They were intercepted and captured by a large force of rebel Negroes, who executed

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fifty of them. Shortly afterward the entire revolt was quelled, and the Negro leaders burned alive six at a time. The remaining twenty deserters from the Dutch militia were brought to Paramaribo and executed by being hanged or broken alive.

After this setback, other rebellions broke out afresh in a different section of the colony. These outbursts were known as the Cottica rebellion, and were more formidable than even the Saramacca and Tempati revolts. Pillage was extended in every direction, and the colonists at Paramaribo lived in daily terror of a massacre. By 1772 hope of maintaining the colony had almost been relinquished; the Dutch were ready to admit that the finishing blow had been given to Surinam. The planters abandoned their homes and flocked to Paramaribo for refuge. Even there they could hear at night the throbbing of Negro drums.

In a desperate effort to save the settlement, faithful slaves were manumitted and armed, to act in conjunction with the colonial troops against the rebels. To send Negro against Negro was a hazardous resolve. At the same time the Society of Surinam appealed to the Prince of Orange for aid. Two companies of mercenaries, twelve hundred strong, were dispatched to the relief of the stricken plantations.

This was perhaps "the most extraordinary expedition ever undertaken by European troops." Among the officers of the expedition was an Englishman by the name of Captain John Stedman, of Tifferton, Devonshire, a free-lance soldier of fortune, who wrote a long account of his adventure. His *Nar-*

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His Nar- 648 175 [illegible]

rative of a Five Years' Expedition Against the Revolted Negroes of Surinam in Guiana on the Wild Coast of South America is a record of strange happenings that could not occur again.

Many of the soldiers died en route, so reinforcements of three hundred men were sent from Amsterdam. Two hundred and fifty of these died on the way. The remainder were prepared for active service against the rebels. Acting with them were three hundred auxiliary troops, consisting of emancipated slaves under the command of white leaders. Such Negroes, freed for the purpose of fighting, were known as "rangers." They were given trousers and scarlet caps, armed with firelock and sabre, and taught the Dutch password, *"Orange!"* to distinguish them from rebel Negroes and prevent "disagreeable mistakes" during the fighting.

Under the command of the rebel leader Baron, whose very name sufficed to cause panic in any part of the colony, the Bush Negroes had established a strong settlement between the Cottica River and the seacoast. One proud rebel town was known as *Boucou,* which means *"Dust."* It was entirely surrounded by swamp, with secret paths under water, leading to gates in the palisade wall. Before the gates Baron placed swivel guns. On the whole it had the reputation of being "no contemptible fortification." There was another camp of rebel Negroes at Lee Shore, between the Surinam and Saramacca rivers. From these armed camps they made night forays into the plantations, robbing fields and stealing women.

Against Boucou the desperate Dutch sent a detachment

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● 648 175 of troops under the command of Captain Mayland. They camped on the border of the swamp, finding they could not cross it. Baron raised his white flag of defiance and the militia fired many useless fusillades. They planned a siege and a bridge of boats across the marsh, but both plans were abandoned when a ranger discovered an underwater path to the fortification.

Making a feint attack by rapid firing on one side of the swamp, Mayland drew the defenders to that side. Meanwhile, the troops crossed on the opposite side, swarmed over the palisadoes without encountering opposition, and fell upon the blacks from behind. Boucou was taken in a swirl of carnage.

Most of the Bush Negroes managed to escape; finding ten or twelve rangers stuck in the swamp, they slit their throats on the way. The white men's prisoners were put to horrible deaths. Stedman describes one as hanging for three days on a hook through his ribs, trying to drink the rainwater that rolled down his chest. He was finally killed with the butt of a musket. The story also tells that another captive was being flogged near the suspended Negro. When the beaten prisoner cried out in pain, the first one taunted him with weakness, saying, *"You mong? Da boy fasee,"* which means, "Are you really a man? You act like a boy!" Other captives had wooden splinters driven under their fingernails and toenails, after which they were quartered by being tied to four horses driven in different directions. As for young women being roasted alive, says Stedman, "Nothing was

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more common in the colony." This is probably an exaggeration. 648 175

Not long after this, Captain Mayland, the victor of Boucou, was caught with his troops in an ambuscade while fording a swamp. Up to their armpits in water, the Europeans and their rangers were unable to return the rebel fire. The whole party was wiped out. A few captives were taken back to the rebel village, stripped naked, and beaten to death before the assembled population to provide an afternoon's amusement.

But the colony was saved for the whites. Cruelties continued on both sides, those of the civilized Europeans equalling those of the savage. On one plantation Stedman saw a young woman hanging to a tree, being flogged with two hundred lashes. Seeing her stripped and covered with blood, he protested mildly. Enraged that anyone should venture to come between him and his slaves, the overseer ordered the punishment doubled, and the lashes went on.

In 1775, when the revolutionary spirit was also beginning to flame in North America, the mercenaries entered the Guiana jungle against the rebels for the last time. In this detachment were two hundred European troops and a hundred rangers, commanded by a Colonel Fourgeod. The first day they travelled due east from Paramaribo, cutting their way eight miles through the bush with billhooks. The following days they continued this laborious chopping of a path, and at night campfires were forbidden lest they draw the attention of the Bush Negroes. They proceeded in three columns, guarded by flankers. After marching a week, they stumbled

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upon the rebel village of *Gado Saby*. The name means "God Understands." The Dutch detachment came out of the bush into an oblong rice field, where the rebels met them with an impassioned defence of the village. The black warriors fired from the ground or from behind trees. Each was supported by two others, one to take his place if he were killed and the other to drag his body away. Trusting to their *obeiahs*, or talismans, for protection against enemy bullets, the rebels exposed themselves rashly and many were killed.

The Dutch found the opposing troops manœuvred in a masterly manner. The defence of the village was admirable. The Negroes even cut down trees about the village to impede the Dutch advance. It was soon noticed that, although the Bush Negroes were firing rapidly, few Europeans were injured and none were killed. Afterward the surgeons found out why. They discovered in the wounds many pebbles, coat buttons, bits of silver, but no bullets. The rebels had none. This was all that saved the whites from extermination. The blacks surrounded them, had them at their mercy—but lacked bullets to clinch the victory.

Pressing on, the Dutch reached the town. The Negro chieftain, Captain Bonny, immediately set fire to it, and his troops retired in good order. This turned out to be a very effective stroke, for it left the whites with no shelter and little provisions. Every rebel rice field that the whites could locate had been burned, as usual.

Camped on the charred site, the rangers amused themselves by bowling with severed human heads. It was, as Sted-

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man noted, a *condree fasee*—a custom of the country. Rifles were found, all lacking flint, for which the Europeans had good reason to be thankful. In the village were found silver spoons pillaged from the estates, along with china and other ware. The rebels were observed to be healthy, and lacking nothing but bullets and flint. Their diet contained ingenious makeshifts. Salt they obtained from the ashes of a palm tree, and butter from condensing the fat of the palm tree worm.

That evening the rebels crept near the European encampment and began shouting curses, threats. All night the jungle resounded with the yells of rebels and the replies of rangers. The hatred of the revolted blacks for the loyalist rangers knew no bounds. They swore that no ranger should ever leave the bush alive. They dared the planters to enter the woods. Finding so much communication going on, Colonel Fourgeod decided to join in, and began "hallooing." He offered the rebels food, drink, and freedom if they would lay down their arms.

The reply was curt and contemptuous. They "damned him for a French bastard," saying, "We are free men. You soldiers are white slaves, hired to be shot at for fourpence a day."

Fourgeod swore to pursue Bonny to the end of the earth. The following day the troops pressed on to the next village, *Cofaay,* which signifies "Try Me." They found it deserted. Lacking ammunition, the blacks had realized the impossibility of putting up a defence. So they made a great noise in the night, under cover of which Cofaay was evacuated. While the loud shouting was going on, the food of the next village had

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648 175 been packed in baskets and transported to a safe place. The Dutch, tricked by the wily Bonny, found Cofaay bare.

Provisions being imperative, a small detachment was sent back to Paramaribo for them. The detachment was cut off by the rebels. European soldiers were spared, but every ranger was killed, since the rebels had sworn none of them should leave the bush alive.

After one or two other engagements, in which the Bush Negroes were defeated, with the help of Indian tribes, the expedition returned to Paramaribo. Both sides had fought each other to a standstill. The Europeans were weary of the hazards of the bush, of the vicious fire-ants and carnivorous [134] mosquitoes. Above all they knew that if the Bush Negro had possessed ammunition they would never have returned.

From this point on the warfare ceased by common consent. The Bush Negroes were left alone to duplicate in the American forest their former life in Africa. The slaves who never revolted were finally emancipated in the nineteenth century, and their descendants today, still living with the whites in Paramaribo, are known as Town Negroes. The bush tribes call them *bahkra schlaff*, or "white man's slave."

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It may be of interest to recall the names of some of the old villages which constituted places of refuge for the escaped slaves in the early days and from which many of the forays were conducted against the white plantations. In the jungle between the Surinam and the Saramacca rivers were the following:

Villages	*Headmen or Captains*
Acoro-kriki	Aletoo
Attoma-kriki	Attama
Awara	Davo
Congo-kriki	Attoma
Doussou-kriki	Mufinga
Cabrolte	Primo
Janwiri-kriki	Kwakoo, Klaas, Pedro
La Motte	Foolon
Matawarie	Adoo
Loango	La Motte
Toofinga	Coffie
Wana	Mathysie
Pada	Pambo, Magondi, Darie, Samsam

Higher up the rivers, separated from these, were still more villages continuing right on to the Brazilian frontier, even on to the Orinoco River, where some of the escaped slaves mixed with the Indians.

The villages between the Surinam and the Marowyne rivers were the following:

To the north of Paramaribo, between the Duivelsbroek

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(Devil's Pants) Swamp and the ocean was the village of No Meli Mi (Don't Touch Me).

On the Upper Surinam River at the source of the Surnau Creek and to the north of the plantation Maasstroom there was a village called Broos Condree; on the right bank of the lower Commewyne River, the village of the Headman Kopro-Kanoo (Copper Cannon) was situated.

On the Upper Cottica were the following havens of refuge:

[22]

Villages	*Headmen or Captains*
Gado Saby	David Voro
Corsary	Pamo (Governor)
Meli Mi	Araby
Mi Sa Lasi	Boston
Tesi	Abram
Boesi Krei	Thoma
Kwami Condree	Coffie
Karoe Condree	Jan Prado
Areisi Condree	Quakoo
Boucou	Baron
Aroukou	Bonny, Joli Coeur

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they must tolerate a certain amount of intrusion, and negotiations for canoes and paddlers can be made for occasional journeys upstream.

The Bush Negroes sometimes come down to Paramaribo, but on the whole they have no desire for contact with white civilization. At one or two points along the lower rivers trading-posts have been set up by the Surinam Balata Company. The post near Kabel, on the Surinam River, is connected with Paramaribo by a small railroad, the only one in the colony. Once a week a tiny locomotive hauls some wooden coaches up to Kabel, a journey of nine hours. For a few miles the train passes through cleared plantation lands before plunging into the bush, the engine making as much as twenty miles an hour when it is going well. A few Hindu and Indian villages are scattered along the route. When the train stops at Republiek, swarms of Hindu fruit dealers attack the passengers: Carib Indians, coloured like ripe mangoes, can be seen holding themselves proudly aloof from such merchants. A little further on the *pork-knockers* detrain. They are free-lance blacks, seeking a fortune by washing for gold in the yellow waters which roll down from the foothills of the distant mountains.

Here, at Kabel, one river trip begins. The trading factor, Mr. Alexander Wolff, had negotiated with the Bush Negroes for two forty-foot dugouts, capable of carrying a thousand pounds of luggage and equipment, and had secured four Bush Negro paddlers. One is named Quacoe, the famous name of the Tempati rebel, and another is called Flagawai,

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or Waving Flag. There is also a town cook, known as Bundle.

It is grey on the misty river when we leave Kabel to take up the journey into the interior. The corials are wet with fog.

A group of villagers stands on the bank to watch our departure. The last evidence of civilization is the corrugated iron shack which marks the terminus of the railroad. The baggage has been transferred to the canoes, and the paddlers take their places. We shove off on the tawny river. The villagers shout a farewell: *"Wakka bon na watra, bakkra."*—"Walk well on the water, white man."

Seeing these black-skinned paddlers dimly through the morning mist, one can easily imagine being on the Niger, headed into the interior of Africa. They are characteristic West African types, with broad noses, thick lips, and kinky hair. There are no evidences of racial mixture, no hybrids, no mulattoes. Noticeably aristocratic in bearing, they are carefully groomed and carry themselves admirably. In parleying with the white man they show no deference, for they have no sense of inferiority. They remember the rebellion.

The corials are paddled over a short stretch of quiet water before the rapids begin. It is not long, however, before the boatmen lay down their paddles and take up the great poles. The rhythmic heaving begins. After a few miles they draw the canoes in to the bank, for no apparent reason. Their wives appear out of the bush, bringing the men some extra supplies for the journey. There is an additional loin-cloth for each paddler, and two togas, worn over the shoulder. The native substitute for a valise, in which these clothes are packed to

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keep them dry, is a carved calabash gourd, with a tight-fitting waterproof cover made from another gourd. These are stored away amidship, along with high piles of cassava cakes and jugs of mareepa oil, the native soft drink. The women also add to the cargo a small gipsy cooking-pot and an unclean shotgun.

There is much talkee-talkee during the loading. After the lapse of some time a second start is made, and the poling begins again. After hours on the river, around bend after bend, and through innumerable passages of rapid and rough water, we encounter a Bush Negro corial coming downstream. In it are two paddlers, and a woman with a little boy. Immediately the Djukas bring the boats together for a gossip and palaver. The strangers pay little attention to the bahkra, except a curt nod in answer to his greeting. But they ask the paddlers all about the white man, who he is, where he is going, and where he comes from. Flagawai replies in detail, and for his part asks news of the upper river. The strangers have come from a distant, picturesquely named village many days up the Surinam River, Futu No Habbe Ackaba, "The Foot That Has No Resting-Place." This signifies the long journey required to reach it, but the phrase might be taken as symbolical of the many enforced journeyings of the Negro race.

The powwow continues for some time. Our restless hints pass unnoticed. Unlike other natives, who can be commanded and beaten, the Djukas are independent; to give them orders is out of the question. The traveller who at-

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tempted it would find himself deserted by his paddlers, lug- 484
gage deposited in the bush, scrupulously intact, while his 648
paddlers went along the river warning the villages against the malicious bahkra. And there he would remain, set down in the bush, unable to get more paddlers, until hunger made him humble. In the interior there is no means of transportation, no communication, except by Djukas. So on the whole the white man is largely subject to the will of his guides, over whom he has only nominal control; it behooves him to put up with their whims, and to avoid the mistake of trying to command them.

Gradually the canoes float apart, but the talking continues. 198
A thought pops into a black head and is shouted across the 484
intervening water. Questions, answers, continue though the 648
boats are now some distance away from each other. To make their words carry far over the water, the Djukas actually lower their voices, singing out the words in a sustained, resonant tone that makes a mellow sound across the waves. This long drawn-out "Ah-e-e-e" can be heard after the other corial has passed far down the river. Out of sight around a bend, we can still hear the other Bush Negroes intoning strange words.

Not being able to follow the conversation, we ask the cook, 198
Bundle, what it's about. Bundle does not know. The Djukas 191
are not using talkee-talkee now. They are using an obscure 484
tongue. When the Bush Negroes converse with outsiders 648
they employ the talkee-talkee language which white men and Paramaribo Town Negroes can understand. But they also

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●648 have a tribal language called *odo, deepee-talkee,* or *Saramacca-*
[191 *tongo* known only among themselves; they are members of
198] the Saramaccaner tribe.

Before the other corial is out of earshot, the Djukas bid us good-bye with the familiar words: *"Wakka bon na watra, bahkra!" "Gran danke, matio"*—"Many thanks, my uncle," we respond, adding the *o* sound to the last word to make it carry over the waves, as they do. To them "uncle" is the most
[576 respectful appellation that can be used, similar to our respect-
604] ful use of the word "father." For them a maternal uncle is more important than a father.

For a while now the poling continues in silence. Further on we pass a lone Djuka on the bank, skilfully setting a fish trap constructed of sticks and *lianas*. Far away upstream can be heard the muffled report of a shotgun; some black hunter is bringing in game. The angry currents slap constantly against the side of the corial. We round another bend and see ahead only more rapids, where rocks make innumerable white ripples in the muddy water.

A stop is made for lunch at one of the many islands. Bundle brings out canned food and the gipsy pot. The river looks enticing and cool. The bahkra begins taking off his clothes for a swim in the water near shore. The Negroes are abashed at his nakedness, and Bundle tactfully advises him to be more modest.

136 The waters in this part of the great South American rain forest are infested with the Brazilian piranha or piraya (*Serrasalmo sp.*), a species of carnivorous fish. They are small,

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something like bass, but with undershot thick jaws and heavy teeth. They run six to eight inches long and seldom weigh more than half a pound. But they travel in schools and attack simultaneously, so that any flesh in the water, human or otherwise, with a bloody surface exposed, is torn to pieces in a short time. If a bush-hog is killed and suspended in the water, the smell of blood attracts these fish; in an incredibly short space of time the carcass is wholly devoured.

The Djukas have learned to be wary of this fish. On one occasion, when trading for a drum at an Aucaner village, the blacks handed the drum out to the corial on a long pole, rather than step a few feet into the water. Despite this fear, in poling upstream it is frequently necessary for the paddlers to get out of the canoe in water up to their armpits and forcibly drag it over the rocks. On such occasions their courage is immediate and unfailing. They enter the water, knowing that piraya may be present. There is no other way of getting the boats over rock-studded pieces of fast water, where paddles are useless and poles insufficient. They jump out into the river, taking the chance of having pieces of flesh excised from their limbs.

Fear of this fish prevents constant bathing in all parts of the river. Now, however, after a long hot trip, the lure of a cool bath in the fresh flowing water overcomes the bahkra's caution, but the Djukas, as soon as they have grasped the white man's intention, will not permit him to enter the water. They gesticulate violently, waving him back with rapid and excited words—no, no, he cannot go in—piraya, piraya! He is

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136 almost forcibly prevented. But when the day's journey is over,
484 and we have camped for the night in an upriver village, the
648 paddlers will take the risk of bathing in the cool stream. Even though there are no piraya in the immediate vicinity, the bathers will not linger long.

484 All the long, heavy afternoon the Negroes toil slowly with
648 the great poles. Troe stops to cut some herbs for medicine. Flagawai sharpens the end of his pole with a bush-knife to give it a better grip on the river-bed. We have never seen better paddling, not even in the Canadian woods, where the Indian guides retain the canoe-craft of the American aborigines, nor on the Mazaruni River in British Guiana, where the black diamond-seekers haul their great whaling boats over the rapids.

There is a low falls across the river. The corials have to be dragged up over the slanting slippery rocks into the higher water beyond. Everyone gets out. The boatmen quietly decide the best path; there is little hesitation and no debate. Brown hands catch hold of the gunwales and brown feet begin to strain willingly on the slick wet rocks. The lumbering boat slowly mounts the incline. Here again the white man's life is in the hands of the Negroes; if the corial were to upset, the food would be lost, and the trip would end disastrously.

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The blacks are proud of their water skill. Upsetting a canoe or drowning a passenger are disgraces that no man can ever live down. But they are rare occurrences. The Indians of this part of the continent, not nearly so skilful, use a different style of canoe and paddle. Djuka paddles are hewn with a bush-knife from a solid plank of hard wood, and finished off with an ordinary pocket-knife. The handle is frequently pierced with delicate ornamental work, the entire piece beautifully balanced to handle easily. The men's paddles are as tall as they are, but the women's are shorter and more elaborate. Tiny ones are given children as soon as they are big enough to hold them, so that the Djuka's water skill is the result of a lifetime on the river.

All the boats are dugouts; no canvas or bark canoe would last long in these rapids. They are manufactured out of big trees, which are felled and allowed to season. Then the centres are hollowed out with fire and adze; nothing is left but the shell of the trunk, with perpendicular sides and a rounded bottom. This is filled with water, into which hot rocks are dropped. The heated water softens the wood, enabling thwarts to be thrust in, forcing the gunwales apart. The ends are then symmetrically curved up and are often carved. Seats, as well as bow and stern pieces, are often carefully decorated. The entire boat has a distinct West African style. When completed it is from eight to forty feet long. Ours has a large sunshade of thatched grass near the stern, because the white man is too soft to endure the sun's rays. Under the shade we have a camp-chair, a little comfort for the long trip. The

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501 648 other canoe is entirely open, the Negroes being more hardy than we.

501 685 Stealing a corial is to the Bush Negro what stealing a horse was to the early plainsmen of the American frontier: a capital crime. So much of the Bush Negro life is on the water that no man can get along without a canoe for any length of time. There are only hunting trails through the jungle, and traffic by preference goes along the river. In spite of the luxuriant jungle, a man left in the bush without food is liable to starve, as a frontiersman left on the plains without a mount was considered to be as good as dead.

Next to Dutch Guiana is French Guiana, a penal colony. Here large numbers of convicts are imprisoned. There are also men known as *libérés*—exiles who are at liberty within the colony, but forbidden to leave it. Many succeed in escaping desperately into the bush. They must obtain canoes, for travelling any distance overland is practically impossible, due to the heavy growth. If the fugitive cannot purchase one at the Negro villages, the only alternative is to steal it. Such thieves are pursued relentlessly by the Djukas, and killed on sight. Bloody tales are told in Paramaribo of hand-to-hand struggles to horrid deaths, between black man and convict fighting for life, in the dim blue light of the jungle day, in the unknown interior of Surinam.

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river floods periodically, and might wipe them out if they were too near, and that the Bush Negro still retains, back in his mind, a strong fear of another war with the white man. In the latter event the Djuka villages would have to be camouflaged or hidden. Often, too, the villages are to be found just above a waterfall or rapids, as another hindrance to possible invaders.

At the landing we see bare-breasted Djuka women washing clothes or bathing their children. They do not evince much curiosity as we paddle up, for it is considered insolent to stare. The naked little ones are very much afraid of the white man. They scurry into the underbrush and watch us from behind trees. The older children remain and are proud of their courage. An old man is making a canoe. Most of the men are away on hunting or lumbering expeditions.

Leading up to the village is a winding path, cut by the violent rain until it resembles a ravine. Sometimes the river floods the path, forming a little muddy inlet into which the canoes stick their noses. One town is perched on a high bank, reached only by a hardwood ladder twenty-five feet tall. The blacks clamber up easily, unlike the awkward white man, who has difficulty with the missing steps.

We ascend the path; the frightened children return to their play, paddling about or fishing from the moored canoes. Sometimes the bahkra's coming has been announced beforehand by a system of drum telegraphy. A certain rhythm beaten on the tomtom informs the adjacent villages that white men are coming up the river, and why. In this way

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their arrival is frequently anticipated. But it is something of an exaggeration to say that this primitive telegraphy is so extensive and efficient as to spread news of the white man over "more than two thousand square miles of impassable land." Nothing of the sort happens. The sound of the drums will carry for about two or three miles, when the wind is in the right direction, and the drum call is relayed from town to town. Most often, however, they are not beaten at all for us, and we arrive unannounced.

At the landing we are met by Captain Abaisa, a splendidly built Djuka whose friendship was obtained on a previous trip. His powerful body is all cut up with ornamental scars, a form of personal decoration highly esteemed by the Bush Negroes. The custom is a direct heritage from West Africa, found in many parts of the Gold Coast, the Congo country, and Cameroons, but unknown among the Indians of the Guianas. Abaisa greets us cordially: *"You wicki bah?" "E-e ah, matti"* is the proper reply. This talkee-talkee greeting, the equivalent of "Did you wake well?" is chanted rather than spoken. The voice ascends sharply on the second word, the final word being drawn out in a high sustained tone. The reply means "Yes, friend."

Another form of greeting is *"Ah broko baka,"* or "The day breaks again"—in other words—we meet again; or *"Neetee kaba"*—"The night is finished."

If a person is met for the second time within a short interval, the proper thing to say is *"We meetee baka."* Still another greeting is *"Bala, (Sis, Da, Ma) odio, how fa you de*

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576 *bah?"* In other words, "Brother, (Sister, Father, Mother) howdy, how-do-you-do?"

751 776 There is a ceremony connected with the simple act of entering a Bush Negro town. A stranger might bring in foul intentions or evil spirits. The village must be protected against this horrific possibility, so nearly every path leading to the town has a magic device, known as an *azang pau,* to keep the spirits out. It consists of a dry stick across the path overhead, to which palm fronds are lashed. They hang down, brushing over everyone who passes beneath. The visitor passes under the azang pau, and is cleared of evil spirits that might harm the inhabitants of the village.

778 The Djukas have invisible enemies. On either side of the path, near the palm barrier, is the wooden statue of a fetish to provide protection from these enemies. The fetish named Cromanti, on one side, protects the village from the evil spirit that dwells in the silk-cotton tree, the *con con dree.* Opposite him stands *Aflamu,* who secures the village against the attacks of a mighty tribe of unseen men, who are the sworn enemies of the Bush Negro and kill him with invisible arrows.

Walking up from the river we reach the barrier, and pause before it for the customary ritual. But Abaisa is a potent chief, the head of his *lo* or clan, the *Abaisa-lo.* So long as the bahkra accompanies him, no ceremony is necessary. We enter unchallenged into the clearing beyond.

● 648 576 The usual procedure is for the white man to hang back and let his paddler precede him. Moi-Man gains admittance to re-

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mote villages in this way; carrying his paddle before him, as a symbol of voyaging, he approaches the barrier or azang pau, halts before it, and clears his throat loudly. The rest remain some thirty feet behind. Someone comes out of the huts and inquires what is wanted.

One of the objects of the expedition being the acquisition of specimens of Bush Negro art objects, this is usually explained at the very beginning to prevent any misunderstanding. The following dialogue is typical:

"Bahkra wanny timbeh (or *sanni*)"—"White man wants wood carvings."

Cannily, the black replies: *"Me no habbe fu selli"*—"I don't have any to sell."

Moi-Man, accepting this verdict, explains further: *"Bahkra wanny luku, wan pekein"*—"White man wants to look around, wants to see inside a bit."

"Ah bon," the Negro replies, meaning: "It's good." He returns to his hut.

The parley formally concluded, the paddler turns around and motions us to come up the trail into the village. The towns usually consist of a clearing a few hundred feet across, beyond which is the overhanging green wall of trees. Scattered about the clearing in no particular order are numerous huts, with an occasional palm or breadfruit tree beside them. The rest of the concourse is bare clay. Sometimes there is a flower garden in the centre. Here and there are tiny *God houses,* where the fetishes stand.

The villages vary greatly in size. Some, like Gansee, near

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is used as a living-room; cooking is sometimes carried on there, but more often in an open communal kitchen used by the entire village. Some towns have several such open sheds.

We enter the hut where the headman of the village lives, and find him lying in his hammock. It is perhaps a bit of conscious arrogance, to demonstrate his independence of the white man, that the captain does not rise to greet us. He rises, however, to greet Abaisa.

"Well, friend, how are you?" we begin. In talkee-talkee the question runs: *"So, matti, fie you tang?"*

He replies civilly, complaining a little, perhaps. We offer him a few leaves of tobacco, always acceptable. While we parley with the chief, the men of the village are carrying our equipment up from the corials to the village. This they always do, without being asked and without being paid. Even small children take part in the portage. Nothing is ever stolen.

Quite conscious of the heat inside the dark hut, we do not palaver long. Leaving the two chiefs lolling in hammocks we pass out of the breast-high doorway into the clearing, and go about examining the living-quarters and the people. This is a village of the Saramaccaner tribe, descended from the Saramacca rebels of two hundred years ago. All the huts and villages of this tribe are quite similar. Among the Aucaner tribe, descended from the Ouca rebels, are villages of a different type.

One does not doubt the good intentions of the Moravian Brothers and certain Catholics who have established missions at a few points on the rivers. But their evangelical efforts have

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313 hardwood trunks must be fastened between soft logs to keep them up.

At times the river drops in sheer falls. There is only one point at which the rafts can go down without jamming on the rocks; but here the men cannot go over with them, for the drop is too great. They steer for this point, keeping the logs in the centre of the current. To go over would mean being crushed to death. Moving at a high rate of speed, the men stay with the raft until the last possible minute, and then jump for some jutting rock. The raft crashes over the falls. Then the paddlers make their way from rock to rock, along the crest of the falls, back to the shore, and go down to recover the logs.

313 137 The Djukas sell the lumber that they bring downstream; it takes three days of palaver to reach an agreement on the price. They bargain quite as shrewdly as the lumber trader. Now their pouches of canvas, waterproofed with wild rubber, are heavy with many silver banknoto, or half-guilder pieces. Not as many as they expected, perhaps, but enough for their purposes.

● 648 They walk curiously about Paramaribo. The streets are crowded with a bizarre rabble, giving this little Dutch town the rare charm of the exotic. A more interesting place would be difficult to find in this modern age. Its wharves are re- 000 minders of the coming of the old slaving ships, and its white houses recall the plantations of the past. Town Negroes clatter by, some in wooden shoes brought from the Zuyder Zee countryside to this distant clime. Behind them come

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224 to and camps before his little fire. The red monkey bands howl in the darkness, but the hunter is not afraid. The fact that a puma may be in a tree near by does not prevent him from snoring.

224 The Bush Negroes seldom have occasion to take a white
648 man hunting. Because of his incompetence they are forced to hunt differently when he is along.

We are aroused at five o'clock one morning when Daniels, a "balata bleeder" from British Guiana, makes his appearance. He is a husky, powerful Negro from Demerara, a town in the adjacent colony, and one of the few men ever to obtain the confidence and friendship of the Djukas. Some years ago he saved many Bush Negroes from famine, when the cassava and rice crops had failed, by arranging, with the aid of Mynheer Alexander Wolff, for the Dutch government to give many thousands of guilders' worth of rice to feed them. Because of this, and because he speaks English perfectly and has the bahkra's point of view, no better person could possibly accompany us on the coming hunt.

[482 The three Bush Negro bearers who go along with us carry
415] wicker baskets of woven reed containing supplies. They are
171] carried on the bearer's back, held in place by a band around the forehead—a device borrowed from the Indians.

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The blacks admire the bahkra's shotgun and rifle—beautiful, well-oiled weapons which they love. They gaze through the barrel of the shotgun to see the clean bore, and make a comparison with their own meagre, fouled guns. They sniff at the rifle, however, because it shoots only one bullet. How can a man get game with a single ball? Explanations of the high power of the shell produce no effect upon them.

We load. Canned goods, rice, bacon, tobacco, coffee—enough for five days. The provisions are packed in the wicker rucksacks, along with hammocks. The start is made. Walking through the village, the packers exchange jests with Negro women who pause to watch us go by. The hunters are teased regarding the amount of game they will bring back.

After a half-mile walk we reach the new cassava fields in back of the village at a quarter of six, as the sun is rising. The women are already at work. Beyond lies the game trail. It is simply a slight path through the jungle brush, with occasional pools of water through which we wade. Idle toucans eye us from nearby palm trees. A flurry in the bush off to the right indicates the escape of an agouti, but we are not quick enough to see it. The agouti is a kind of giant guinea pig, called by the natives *cony-cony*, meaning "cunning-cunning," because it is hard to outwit. The Bush Negroes are eager to get some of this sweet, succulent meat.

Within an hour the last cassava field is left far behind and we are in the "high bush." The tops of giant trees are lost to sight a hundred and fifty feet overhead. Their massive trunks are buttressed with branches that have grown back

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224 into the ground, becoming roots. The jungle vines, the lianas,
● 648 twine about the boles of palms, adding to the tangle of leaves.
137 The jungle is one immense struggle, none the less fierce because it is silent. The foliage is fighting for light and air.

224 We wade across a number of small creeks that bar our
648 path. Beautiful flat-winged butterflies hover in the hot air. The drone of other insects continues until our ears become accommodated to the sound and we no longer hear it. For five hours the trek continues.

At eleven o'clock a halt is called for lunch. The Djukas
[482] drop their fifty-pound packs, under which they have trotted more easily than the white with only a gun and canteen. A little fire is started and we begin to eat. The creek beside the camp has no name; it is known only as a small tributary of the Lombe Creek. This is the occasion for a little ceremony. The stream is to be named after the first person to eat beside it, which in this case is a white man. A Bush Negro takes a mouthful of water from the creek and spits it back, motioning us to do the same. We comply. Then the Negro names the stream *"Datra Cong Creekee"*—"Doctor Kahn Creek." The others respond with solemnity, "Daso." We pass a few pleasantries and go on.

By two o'clock the fatigue is beginning to tell on the bahkra. A halt is called. The country gets higher as we leave
[33] the neighbourhood of the river, but the bush does not thin out. The ground is rolling, with knolls fifty feet high. Up these the carriers scramble like goats, despite their load, but Daniels says they are going slow because of the bahkra. Be-

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sides the pack each carries a shotgun and a bush-knife. The latter is indispensable, for if the game falls in the brush it literally has to be cut out. There is nothing but muck underfoot, and our boots are by this time weighted down with it. We recall the adventurer Stedman going barefooted through this bush; and while preoccupied with this thought we slip on some roots and flounder in the mire.

Just where a yard-thick tree lies fallen across the path we come upon footprints. After studying them the Negroes state that a hunter passed along this trail the day before. Suddenly Daniels motions everyone to be still. He hears monkeys in the tree-tops a hundred yards ahead.

Noiselessly the packers unsling their harness and drop the baskets in the trail. Daniels and the bahkra go forward, as carefully as possible, hoping for monkey meat. It is impossible for white men to avoid making a sound in the brush; the monkeys hear it and cease their noise. They must know that something is approaching. Daniels motions us to lie down, and twenty minutes are passed perfectly immobile on the ground. We are conscious only of our own breathing and a slight movement of wind in the blue half-light of the jungle. Bodies in contact with the earth bring back the memory that we are preying animals. Civilization has not eradicated the primitive thrill of stalking meat.

There is a noise in the high branches overhead; we can see though we cannot hear the rustling where the tree-top has bent under the weight of a simian. As yet no form has been seen. There is no wind now, only an uncanny stillness. The

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224 rustle is heard again; there is no doubt that it is caused by the
● 648 movement of a monkey. But cautiously rising up on our knees we can just make out a tiny patch of brown fur amidst the green far above. We draw a bead on the target and fire both barrels.

There is a human-like screech, and after it the crash of a body tumbling down through the branches. But it does not fall; the monkey is only wounded and catches itself halfway. Quickly Daniels fires both barrels and finishes the job. A huge black spider monkey, the *quata,* falls to the ground forty feet away, quite dead. We have fresh meat for supper.

The bearers are back on the trail, now completely out of sight. Daniels picks up the carcass of the monkey and starts to return in what we are sure is the wrong direction. Of all places to get lost, we think, none is worse than the high bush, where there is only one trail, and that cannot be found. But Daniels was too wise to trust to a sense of direction. In spite of the excitement of imminent game, coming in from the trail he had broken little twigs all along the way. By following these markers we find the way back through the trackless bush.

The bearers are still waiting on the trail, and are delighted at the sight of the monkey. One of them makes a slit in its chin and passes through it a length of singrassi, the hand-spun cord. The end of the string is tied around the monkey's tail, thus binding the head and the tail together. The carcass is then slung over the shoulder like a big brass horn, and we are ready to go.

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224 The next day the hunters rouse early and breakfast in the
648 freshness of the warm morning. Two of the Djukas refuse absolutely to accompany the bahkra any further. The white man, they say, goes through the jungle like a thunderstorm and brings bad luck. The prospects of getting any game with him around are exceedingly small. They get out their hunt-
[789] ing amulets, and rub on their gun-barrels a concoction prepared by the medicine man. Daniels laughs at this, but they refuse to be teased.

"You'll see!" they assert doggedly, certain of their magic.

The party splits up to go in three directions. Two bearers remain with us, one posted out ahead as a tracker, and Daniels, who brings up the rear as gun-bearer. The other two Negroes go in different directions and are immediately out of sight. We continue ahead, cutting the way through the bush—there are no trails. For two hours we tramp along without sighting game, realizing that *more things see us than ever we see*. The jungle is not teeming with game, as
[136] popularly believed. There is an occasional herd of bush hogs, but in general it is necessary to hunt long and hard to bag any amount of meat. It is doubtful if a man could subsist on the food his gun brings in, not because the game is lacking but because of the difficulty of seeing it.

224 The Djukas also hunt in other ways. One device is "still hunting"—sitting motionless in a tree beside a game trail, waiting for some animal to come along underneath. The
[411] Indians' *curare* and the blow-gun which shoots the poisoned dart are not employed by the Negroes. The only co-operative

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hunts among the Djukas occur when a tapir is sighted near the village; in which case all will go out and endeavour to surround it, and share equally in the kill. When, in dry seasons, *pingos* (bush hogs) swim the river in herds, the Bush Negroes take every available corial and paddle after them, cutting their throats, knocking them on the head, or drowning them by holding their heads under water. The result is a feast, and the excess meat is smoked.

Djukas have also been known to leap from their canoes upon the backs of deer swimming the river, and thus to drown them.

Game that hears us first is gone. A herd of peccaries ahead of us hears the approach; there is a loud crash as they retreat back into the high bush. The Negro tracker finds the trail and we beat around after them for hours, but the animals have outwitted us and cannot be located.

At the end of the day the other hunters return, one of them bringing in a small anteater and a red howling monkey, while the other carries two agouti. Our own success consists of one *powese* (bush turkey) and a small armadillo, the *capusee*. These are cleaned and smoked, and camp is made for the night.

About dusk one of the men goes into the jungle. Less than fifteen minutes later we hear the distant detonation of both barrels, followed by loud yells. Instantly everyone grabs for firearms and begins running in that direction, stumbling and sliding in the jungle evening. The Bush Negroes make their way with marvellous rapidity through the moonless dusk,

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hardly more than shadows. We find the man unharmed, excited and voluble. He encountered a puma, a large one. He fired at close range and wounded it. We see a track of blood, and instantly set out to follow it. It is too dark now; we are forced to retreat back to camp, blazing the trees along the route to find the trail in the morning.

At camp the Djukas erect four uprights and a roof of palm frond, as a shield from the rain and heavy dew. Another is rigged for their own use, and the hammocks are slung underneath. Again they sit up around the campfire and tell loud stories, the same ones, probably.

Sitting by the campfire in the pathless interior, thinking of the hundreds of desperate and difficult miles of surrounding jungle, blue by day and black by night, in the company of a few Negroes without whom it would be impossible to return, it is difficult for anyone to escape a feeling of weakness and insignificance. One scoffs at the black man's superstitions, his amulets and guardian spirits, but in the bush at night one senses the overpowering magnitude of the fierce wilderness, one begins to understand his need for such things as a protection against the psychological powers of the darkness. We realize, of course, that there is little in the bush capable of hurting anyone, save some big cats and a few rare snakes. But, as a sceptic has said, it is not reason which governs men.

Late that night forked lightning lit up the eerie passages of the jungle. The corridors of trees were filled with wind. The branches, whipped furiously by the great volume of fast

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moving air, roared like an open steam valve. We are rudely awakened by Daniels, who shakes our hammock violently. He shouts over the uproar; everyone must leave the huts at once. A giant tree close to the windward is about to fall and might crush the huts while we sleep.

We quickly abandon the hut and are immediately drenched. Imagine such disconsolate men, staring at the moving wilderness of leaves damning all trees and all weather that takes them out of their hammocks at two o'clock in the morning, and almost reconciled to the idea of being crushed in comfortable hammocks in preference to standing out in the open, expecting a tree to fall on them anyway. But in a short time the storm subsides sufficiently to allow us to return.

The next morning we break camp and trek another day back into the interior. There are no camps now, no huts of any kind, no men. Only the high bush. We make an early start to look for the puma that escaped the night before. There is a bloody bed of sheltered leaves where the puma rested, but the rest of the path is obliterated by the storm.

We turn and begin the trek back.

A curious custom widely prevalent among the Bush Negroes is that called *Dressy Dahgo*, or dressing the dog, in

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Chapter Six

FOOD IN THE JUNGLE

THE Bush Negroes investigate our equipment with great delight, and are much amused by our table manners. They gather around and comment on the food. Often they pick up an empty can discarded by Bundle, the cook, and wrinkle their noses in disgust at the smell of it. They seem to prefer their own food.

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[For caption, see category 116, p. 209. – Analyst]

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Saramaccaner

posely to make the village as hard to reach as possible, to protect it from white invaders. From long experience the Djukas mistrust all white men.

In Jankoeso is lodged the general authority over the Saramaccaner tribe and the territory in which they live. He has forbidden the intrusion of any visitors unless they are announced several days beforehand, by messenger.

All the Granmans receive their title by matrilineal inheritance, and cannot be deposed. When one dies he is succeeded by his oldest sister's oldest male child, while his own sons never, under any circumstances, succeed him to the kingship. If there is no such person as his oldest sister's senior male child, then the succession passes on to the oldest male child of the nearest female relative. If the line dies out, and no relatives are eligible, the successor is elected by popular vote from among the captains of the river villages, but this seldom occurs. On such an occasion there may be a struggle between different lo, playing politics to get into power. Otherwise inheritance is strictly through the female line.

The Dutch government exerts only a nominal control over the Bush Negro tribes of the interior. Once every year the river Granmans come down the broad river highways to Paramaribo for a parley with the Governor of Surinam. After a ten-day canoe trip downstream, Jankoeso finds a train waiting for him at Kabel, to bring him ceremonially the rest of the way. The other rulers must come all the way by corial. On their long and often hazardous journey they are accompanied by their most powerful captains. The Gran-

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man of each tribe has a uniform given him by the Dutch; it consists of a high silk hat, a braided frock coat, a drum-major's baton, and a metal plaque suspended around the neck, with the arms of Surinam on it. The ensemble is picturesque in the extreme. Captains have uniforms, too, but less ornate ones. The great full-dress occasion is the palaver at Paramaribo, held on or about the Queen's birthday, toward the end of August. This is an occasion of festivity throughout the colony.

The Governor receives the Bush Negro chiefs as he would any foreign ambassadors, and the dignity of these men, the aristocracy of their bearing, cannot be exceeded by white plenipotentiaries. There is one difference: most of the Djuka females remain at home. Indeed, Jankoeso has forbidden his daughters to go to Paramaribo on any occasion whatsoever. He himself must make a pilgrimage to the sacred medicine city of Dahomey in preparation for the trip, at which time he undergoes a purifying ritual at the hands of the high obeiah priests, to muster good obeiahs for a salubrious passage.

The only attempt of the Dutch to exercise any authority over the Bush Negroes is in regard to the burial ceremony. This has been a bone of contention for many years. The Djuka custom is to allow the corpse to remain unburied for a long period. The Dutch tried to stop this, not from any desire to interfere with the customs of the natives, but for sanitary reasons. The disagreement was finally compromised by a time limit of three days between death and burial. This regulation is usually not observed. Once they get back into their remote villages, the Bush Negroes do as they please.

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their remote villages, the Bush Negroes do as they please. The punitive powers of the white government are seldom exercised. Occasionally in Djuka land, as elsewhere, a murder occurs over some woman. Once or twice the Dutch have made an effort to arrest the criminal. But on the whole police jurisdiction is impossible, as any person familiar with the impenetrable bush and impassable rivers will easily realize. What occurs in any but the nearby villages is largely unknown.

Once the white authorities were cognizant of a murder that took place in Biodoti, one of Jankoeso's villages, and demanded the murderer for trial. With more sympathy for their own people who are criminals than for the white people who are judges, the Djukas flatly refused to give the man up. The Dutch colonial troops threw a cordon across the river just below Biodoti, refusing thoroughfare to any Bush Negro corials; this blockade would be enforced, they said, until the murderer was handed over. During the night Djuka corials leaked past the cordon; it was difficult to stop them. The Governor sent word to Jankoeso to come down to Paramaribo for an extraordinary parley. His refusal was [207] brought by his personal messengers, his *lamba*, who are specially trained from childhood to carry long messages in their heads, keeping every word intact. The Governor informed these lamba that unless Jankoeso came willingly a detachment of troops would be sent to get him down by force.

Indignantly the Granman came, referring to himself as

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a prisoner, and refusing to take the special train awaiting him at Kabel. Special trains, he said, were not for prisoners. He was paddled the additional ninety miles in his own corial, which took six days longer. Very vexed at this, the Governor did not shake hands with him, and Jankoeso was offended. "Why doesn't he tell me 'Howdy'?" he asked Mynheer Wolff, who is always instrumental in furthering friendly relations between Dutch and Djukas. Wolff called the Governor outside, and advised him to treat the Granman with more cordiality. The necessary handshaking was done, and the parley continued more affably. The guilty one was apprehended and jailed for a year. Once again there went upstream the annual present of the Dutch government to each Granman. This is a continuation of the custom of tribute money paid to the Bush Negroes ever since the days of the black rebellions. Every year each Granman receives 1500 guilders.

The Granman is the actual chief of the river nation, but the government centres in the village proper. The village is governed by a headman or *captain*, and aiding him in his work is a council or *bosseia*, consisting of three or four or more of the most mature men and women of the town. "Bosseia," like the American colloquial *boss*, comes from the Dutch word *baas*. Here the rough justice of the jungle is administered, and local disputes are settled. Here decisions are made concerning the ownership of timber, and property rights in cassava fields. Quarrels over women are more frequent than any other kind of disputes, and they, too, are settled by the village captain and his bosseia.

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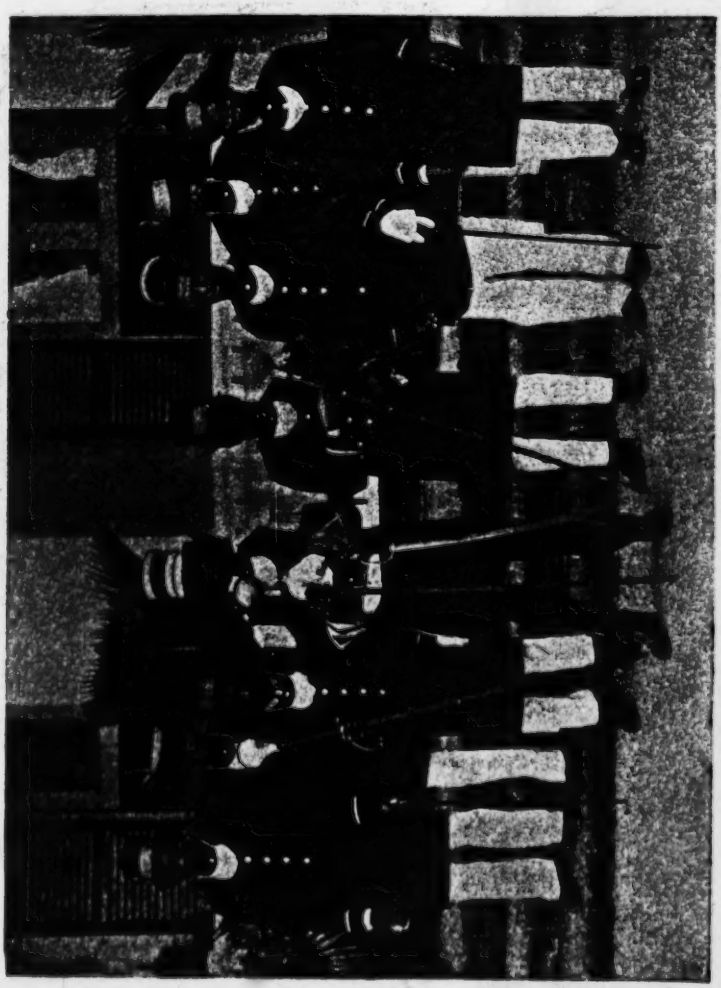

Granmans and Captains Assembled in Paramaribo for a Council with the Governor of Dutch Guiana.
Photo by Curiel

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Aucaner
Saramaccaner
Boni

619 In general appearance and culture the Aucaners vary little
184 from the other large tribe, the Saramaccaners.

[531] The art motifs and their treatment as displayed on the Aucaner wood carvings as a rule differ from those of the Saramaccaners. On the other hand, some of the pieces were found to be practically identical.

The Aucaner talkee-talkee also differs from that of the Saramaccaners, the former being more like the speech of the
[197 Town Negroes. The Aucaners have no deepee-talkee or odo
198] as have the Saramaccaners, but they have a dialect known as
191] *Koropina* where a *p* or an *m* is spoken before the vowels in a word for the purpose of confusing strangers. A similar custom is prevalent among the Negroes of Curaçao, Dutch West Indies.

[291] The dress of the Aucaners is the same as that of the Saramaccaners, excepting that they affect more often the breast-cloth, the *wassapangye,* and the head-cloth, the *mussu.*

Among the Aucaners the toga garment is called the *yembah,* while it is called a camissa by the Saramaccaners. The barrier of palm leaves is called *chifunga* by the Aucaners and *azang pau* by the Saramaccaners.

[262 The system of food taboos and general culture are the
606 same. There is no mother-in-law taboo among either the
194] Aucaners or the Saramaccaner tribe.

[161] The Boni tribe, which consists of about 900 people, is de-
648 scended from escaped slaves who crossed the Marowyne River into French Guiana and who were allowed to remain there unmolested by the French authorities. This is the only

2: Kahn D-5 (1922-1930) 1931
SR8 Bush Negroes SR8
Boni

tribe of the Bush Negroes which owes allegiance to the French. They have never forgiven the Dutch for their relentless pursuit back in the old rebel days. Several years ago the Dutch authorities made an effort to invite the Bonis back into Dutch territory; these overtures, however, were flatly refused.

The derivation of the word "Boni" makes for interesting speculation, and three theories have been advanced to explain it. The first is that the word is derived from the French phrase "Bon Negre" or "Good Negroes" which the colonists of French Guiana applied to the Boni blacks because they were comparatively quiet and peaceful. It is also possible that the tribe may have been named after their famous rebel leader Bonny, who took such a formidable and prominent part in the rebellions. Thirdly, it has been considered that the name was derived from the Bonny River of West Africa, for undoubtedly some of the slaves came from that area. Although *B-o-n-i* is the official Dutch spelling of the word, when the tribesmen refer to themselves the accent is placed on the second syllable, and phonetically the word should be spelled *B-o-n-e-e* and pronounced much the same as the word *Pawnee*, the tribe of American Indians in the western United States. The Granman of this tribe, Awensai, receives his annual stipend from the Governor of French Guiana at Cayenne.

The first village of the Boni, situated on the French side of the Marowyne River, is that of Apatoo nestling at the foot of the Armina falls. The entire French side of the river from

2:Kahn D-5 (1922-1930) 1931
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Boni

184 619 good deal of French patois. Most of the people also speak a fluent and, at times, a good French, which they have learned from the freed convicts, the libérés, of the largest French prison colonies in Guiana at St. Laurent, situated about forty miles from the mouth of the Marowyne River. Some of the 439 Negroes of this tribe, as well as some of the Aucaners, sometimes visit St. Laurent for purposes of barter and trade. They also occasionally aid the French in transporting loads in their canoes up to the remaining placer mine.

648 These Bush Negroes have seen thousands of white convicts and libérés. They have seen white men under the most degrading conditions possible to human existence on this planet. They have seen them shot down in the street. They have seen them rummaging in cans of tropical garbage that even a dog would shun, or escaping through the jungles, simply starving, hunted animals. Their point of view in regard to this may be summarized in the answer received when the question was put to one Boni as to what he thought of the Penal Colony; he said: *"Francie mong sung go dede"*—"Frenchmen soon die."

But just across the river from St. Laurent is the little settlement of Albina and the *Doocie mong* (Dutchmen). The Dutch have armed soldiers there so that the escaping libérés cannot cross.

322 As among the other tribes, the Boni are adept in the carving of wood. They make the usual kinds of highly decorated implements, such as large combs, pot stirrers, food trays carved out of sections of a tree trunk. The door posts and façades of their huts are often elaborately carved

2:Kahn D-5 (1922-1930) 1931
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gaining possession of other fugitives. It is said that, until recently, actual war prevailed among the tribes because some Saramaccaners invaded the Boni and Aucaner districts, poaching on their lumbering, hunting, fishing, and balata rights. The punishment today for any Bush Negro found poaching in another district is a healthy beating with canoe paddles and fists, after which he is warned not to repeat the offence.

With the Indians of Surinam the Bush Negroes have little commerce or intercourse. These aborigines belong principally to three American tribes, the Carib, Acaway, and Arawak. They and the Djukas mutually look down on each other, but in our opinion the latter are intellectually the superior. Indian and Djuka villages are separate; very little trading occurs between them. On the Marowyne, Tapanahoni, and Lawa Rivers, however, the Negroes occupy a strategic position on the middle rivers, so that Indians from their remote villages along the upper river must pass by Bush Negro towns on their way downstream to trade at the white settlement of Albina, near the mouth of the Marowyne. The Djukas tell the Indians that the white men in Albina practise cannibalism. Rather than run the risk of trading with cannibals, the Indians barter their stuff in the Bush Negro towns. By this crafty arrangement, the Negroes obtain bead and feather work in exchange for tobacco and for machetes.

The Indians on the other rivers do not share this superstition concerning the white man's cannibalism. None of the Indian tribes mingle with the Djukas other than for the pur-

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poses of necessary trade. What produces this antagonism is simply racial and cultural difference. Few of the Bush Negroes realize that the Indians are aborigines while they themselves are not. They have no memory of their African origin. Their historical knowledge, as far as we could determine, dates back no further than the rebellion. There is no native word in their vocabulary for "Africa," except where the missionaries teach.

Nor do the Djukas mingle with the Town Negroes. Remembering with pride their escape from the planter's lash, they regard contemptuously these Town Negroes descended from slaves who never had sufficient courage to revolt. It was not until the emancipation edict of the Dutch government that the Town Negroes gained their freedom from the old sugar plantations. As we have noted before, the Djuka refers to the Town Negro as *bahkra schlaff*, or "white man's slave." Only occasionally will a Town Negro be permitted to live in a Bush Negro village. We know of one instance, an old gold prospector named King, who lives at Gansee. After forty years of panning for gold on the river creeks of Surinam, he is content to retire to the peaceful life of a Djuka village. There are also isolated instances of British Negro balata bleeders from Demerara, the capital of the adjacent colony, who now live in Bush Negro towns. If a Djuka woman has intercourse with any of these strangers or, indeed, with anyone outside her own tribe, she is looked upon as a prostitute.

The Town Negroes, on the other hand, speak disparag-

2:Kahn D-5 (1922-1930) 1931
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ingly of their "savage" relatives, but are afraid of them. The Town Negroes are frequently well educated, and by comparison with them the Djuka visitor to the white settlement appears shy and childish, except when trading. The Town Negroes, though, feel a wholesome timidity toward the Djukas. As our educated tent boy would say: "Deh wild people, Doctor, fill wit de devil. Deh gon gib you jumbee, Doctor; I tell you deh make plenty obeiah (magic). Deh know how to control de evil spirits."

Another Djuka relationship of peculiar interest is with the escaped convicts of the penal colony of French Guiana. The escape of a convict into the bush is vividly described in Blair Niles's *Condemned* and *Free*. The Djukas have learned to fear these incorrigibles, who at times attack their villages, steal the provisions, and ravish the women. Most of the escaped convicts, trying to reach Paramaribo, pass through the Aucaner tribe district, in the general neighbourhood of Moengo, where the bauxite mines are. In certain parts of the hinterland the Frenchmen are shot at on sight.

Once an escaped convict trailed a white man's party for several days and, when the men were out hunting, entered the camp, killed the cook, and stole the provisions. When the other members of the party returned, their food was gone and their cook dead. Remorselessly the Bush Negroes tracked down the incorrigible. When they caught him, they buried him in the sand up to his neck and built fires around his head, which they slowly pushed closer until they saw him die a slow death.

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SR8 Bush Negroes SR8

● 648 Curiously enough, many of the Djukas believe that there will be another war with the white man. To them it seems that the bahkra may attempt to re-enslave them at any time. Hence, they are suspicious of all white men, whom they expect soon to be fighting again. It is said that, in preparation for this eventuality, they have accumulated tremendous stores of *nekku* to poison the entire Surinam River, on which Paramaribo is located. The purpose of this, as they express it, is *"Fu killee ala bahkra na futu"*—"To kill all the white men at the foot (of the river)." Apparently they do not know that this plan is useless, that the water supply of Paramaribo does not come from the river, but from artesian wells and cisterns of rainwater.

Legally the Djukas are under the control of the Dutch Colonial Secretary, as wards of the Government of Surinam. The Bush Negroes recognize rather vaguely that the Dutch [651] own the colony, but while they are subjects they pay no taxes, have free range of nearly the entire area, and do exactly as they please concerning village and tribal affairs. The sovereignty of the Dutch is, for all practical purposes, merely nominal.

The Dutch make very humane colonists. In Surinam they are faced with the difficult business of governing a polyglot population of many races, Negroes wild and tame, aboriginal Indians, Hindus, Mohammedans from India, Javanese, Chinese, and white men of all nationalities. As Anatole France expressed it in *The Procurator of Judea,* putting the words in the mouth of Pontius Pilate, "It is no easy matter to

2:Kahn D-5 (1922-1930) 1931
SR8 Bush Negroes SR8

govern a subject race with justice, and not interfere with 648
their local customs." Here the Dutch have been marvellously successful. They seem to have a knack of understanding the primitive mind, so that under their rule the various races live in harmony—a wonder in itself—and peace reigns throughout the settlement.

Dutch Guiana does not have the atmosphere of tenseness that characterizes the British colony to the west or the penal colony to the east. On the whole a lovelier tropical settlement would be hard to find.

Unlike certain nations in Africa, the Dutch have never tried to exploit the natives by imposing anything like the [651]
infamous hut-tax. For this they certainly deserve high praise. The notable position of the Bush Negroes consists in this, that, whereas all over the world primitive tribes are paying tribute to the power of white exploiters, here is one tribe where the situation is reversed, and the whites are paying tribute to them.

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768 Upon the father's decease, his property does not descend to his children, but reverts to his wives, sisters, mother, or brothers. As the wives may be living in different villages, each wife inherits only that property which happens to be in her village. If the man has no wife in a certain village where there are maternal relatives, they inherit all his property within that village. This pertains more to personal than to real property, as the latter tends to be communally held.

648 833 One thing more must be said regarding the sex life of the Djukas. The white men seldom receive overtures from Bush Negro women. It is, of course, taboo for Djuka women to have intercourse with white men, Indians, Town Negroes, balata bleeders, or anyone except her own tribesmen, among whom she is promiscuous. One Djuka woman, running her hand over the skin of a white arm and shoulder, shuddered in repulsion. When asked why, she said that she did not care for white-skinned men. We, however, were marked out for special feminine favour. We received from a woman the gift [431] of a bracelet of delicately filed iron wire, because, as she said, our eyes put her in mind of those of her dead husband.

2: Kahn D-5 (1922-1930) 1931
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164 The Djukas suffer from a number of diseases also common among white men. Yaws, a syphilis-like disease, caused by infection with *Spironema pertenue,* is frequently found among them. Individuals may be seen suffering from all three stages of it. Malaria, including the severe tropical form, is spread by the mosquitoes along the rivers. An ulcerous condition known as leishmaniasis, the result of infection by Leishman-Donovan bodies, is an ordinary occurrence, as is hookworm. The Town Negroes are occasionally infected with filariasis and schistosomyasis of the rectal type. Leprosy is present in the town of Paramaribo, but we saw none of it in the bush.

● 648 The Djukas do not fear to take the bahkra's medicine. The 757 gratitude of more than one mother was earned when we gave [515] her child castor oil. Of the principle of asepsis, naturally, the [304] Djukas know nothing. Their incisions for making *cutty-cutty* (ornamental scars) are septic enough to give a bacteriologist nightmares.

On one occasion, snakee-kutti, the snake protector, did not work, and a Bush Negro, who had been bitten was taken to the hospital at Moengo. His leg had gone untreated for five days and was in the serious stage of gangrene. The limb was amputated by the doctor in charge and the Djuka made an uneventful recovery. He would not have been brought to the hospital by his family if there had been anything more for the Bush Negro medicine man to do. But there was not, and they went to the bahkra as the last resort to save his life.

778 Far up the Surinam River is the sacred medicine city of 756 Dahomey (pronounced Daumay). Into its sacred precincts

/5 cont./

Chapter I

S
Topographical Description of the Colony of Surinam

131
[133] Surinam, or Dutch Guiana, is bounded on the north by the Atlantic Ocean, on the east by Cayenne, or French Guiana, from which it is separated by the river Marowyne /Maroni/; to the south it loses itself in ancient, still unexplored forests up to where the Tumutumaque mountain range establishes the border with Brazil; finally, in the west it is separated by the river Corantyn /Courantyne/ from Berbice, or British Guiana.

The distance between the boundary rivers Marowyne and Corantyn is 56 and one half hours. According to the latest measurements, /6/ the location is between 54° and 57° west longitude and 2° and 6° north latitude, and the colony has an expanse of 2500 square G. M., of which scarcely 700 are as yet known.

S
101 The name Surinam stems, according to general opinion, from an Indian tribe called Surinen which was found there at the time of discovery, but which later withdrew to the branches of
S
103 the Amazon River.

The river was never called anything other than great coma (great river) by the natives.

S
161 The population, according to the latest reports offered to the
162 States General, numbers 67,709 souls, as: 15,567 free, 38,042 emancipated on July 1, 1863, 8,000 Bush Negroes, 1,000 Indians, 5,000 slaves in hiding or escaped.

Chapter II

B
Origin and Settlement of the Bush Negroes

175
● 648 The Bush Negroes stem from runaway slaves in former times, and later, in 1712, from the slaves who were hidden in the forests by their masters in order to escape the levy of Cassard, but did not return to their masters; after the peace that they concluded with the Whites on September 19, 1762, they received the name of

/6 cont./

175 pacified Bush Negroes. From then on they received from the
• 648 Netherlands Government annual presents consisting of guns, herbs, lead, tobacco, rice, salt, dram, and so forth.

648 In later times, however, these were gradually decreased
829 by the government and finally completely abolished, as a result of which the Negroes no longer so willingly and without remuneration want to be of service to the government; since they believe that with the conclusion of the peace they came to an agreement with the government that on their part the Whites would no longer be hindered in anything, while they would endeavor to assist the government whenever that should be necessary, in return for which the presents mentioned above would be handed out to them annually on the part of the government. At present they complain about their treatment by the government and refuse to believe that they can and may trust the Whites.

101 The Bush Negroes are divided into four tribes; /7/
103 1st. Aucaners, who have their dwelling place, Auca, on the
133 river Marowyne; and they have their working places on the river above Cottica, where they come from the Marowyne by way of the Wanakreek. Among themselves they are called Joeka /Djuka/ and by the Whites, Aucaners, after the plantation Auca, where on 19 October 1760 peace was concluded with them.

2nd. Saramaccaners, who live on the river above Surinam, principally near the waterfall Arasoebanja near Gjengjen and Prakieki, and have their working places along the same river and in the cove /kreek," creek, cove"/ Taaiboto Kouloegrou and Kassipora. They are called Saramaccaners by the Whites, after the river of that name (where they formerly lived), and among themselves Wousie or Moejére.

3rd. Mantoewari, who have their dwelling place on the river above Saramacca and their working places along the same river on Maripaston and in the cove Mindrinetie. They are names like the Saramaccaners, since they, too, although separate, live on the same river.

/28 cont./

304 so much time on the desire for this kind of ostentation. When the incisions become faint through time and the growing of the skin, they are raised again by renewed carving.

/29/ Chapter XX

The Attitude toward Europeans and the Latter's Treatment of Them

461 The Bush Negroes begin to think of work when they have
313 little strong drink, powder, and lead left on hand; they leave their
439 camp and go to the work places where they are accustomed to felling trees and working these into squared timber, which they then tie together into rafts and float down the rivers in order to sell it on the plantations and at Paramaribo.

439 Some among them, especially the Saramaccaners, bring korjalen, pinda nuts (1), and groundnuts and Tonka beans (2) to

1. Arachis hypogoea L.

2. The fruit of the Dipteryx.

439 the part of the colony inhabited by Europeans; they usually exchange
● 648 all this for strong drink. It is to be lamented that their trade with the Whites is frequently linked with unpleasantnesses. Generally the latter treat them with contempt. This takes place all too frequently on the plantations in particular, whereby naturally fear and dissatisfaction arise among the Bush Negroes against the Whites; it is therefore not surprising that, after having been repeatedly cheated out of their fair rights, driven by suspicion and a desire for revenge, they in turn frequently try to deceive the Europeans.

In order to make clear their attitude toward the Europeans, I shall cite some proceedings which became known to me in earlier years and which even now have not completely ceased in the colony,

/19 cont./

439 Thus it is known to me that they have gone to one or
501 another plantation in order to sell timber, which they tie to their
505 korjalen or canoes after having made it into rafts with bush ropes
[283] (tough liana stalks), and have misled the Europeans in a scandalous manner.

[284] They make their squared timber into rafts in the following manner. Four thick strong round timbers are laid crosswise and tied together, two above and two under the korjaal; the timber is pushed in between these and fastened, so that the whole thing forms a firm long rectangle with the korjaal in the middle /30/ with which they make long journeys from the upper to the lower
[283] rivers. This timber that is made into rafts and carried along by the korjaal is called kokroko; they tie light and floating wood to long beams with bush rope (called wowitoti) (1), draw this to the

1. From the copaiva.

heavy wood they drag it along down the river.

Chapter XXI

Understanding among Themselves

114 Not long ago I found myself among them on the river
133 Upper Commewijne on the Tempati (a branch of the river named, on the left going upstream; this branch runs into the mountains, which are reported as ruddle mountains /roodenberg/.

114 Residing among them, I made many attempts to induce
● 648 them to track down those in hiding who did not belong to their tribes and fugitives of a later time, and to make known to them that by governmental decree in the course of the year 1863, before the emancipation, a general amnesty regarding them had been issued, so that they could return to their former dwelling places without fear of punishment. The reason that induced me to acquaint them with this was that I saw in the return of these persons

114 /30 cont./
• 648 in hiding a significant advantage for the colony, since the lack of workers in agriculture makes itself felt with increasing urgency.

202 Accordingly they promised to satisfy my wish by putting
[123] up the signs customary among them, which would make known to those in hiding my wishes to acquaint them with the good news.

In order to let those in hiding know that they were requested to come out of the forest, they go to work in the following manner.

202 They tie white and blue, also perhaps white and black
822 patches of cotton half an ell long and three thumbs wide in Rhineland fashion to the upper branches of the trees, starting in the deepest part of the forest and progressing to the river /31/ bank. The little flags placed highest are of a dark color, while the patches tied progressively lower toward the river are white.

Those in hiding, who stay in the district and cross through the forest to hunt, discover these signs and see by them that there is something going on; either that others in hiding want to establish contact with them or that they have to fear danger.

The manner in which the signs are attached to the trees makes them understand that if they go more deeply into the forest there will be born for them a dark and dangerous future, whereas, if they can decide to go to the river bank they can walk a white, that is, a bright path and that, following the little white flags, they will find people who either want to make common cause with them or wish to give them important information.

202 Since these persons in hiding are constantly afraid of
152 surprise attack or deception, trust in these signs is not always im-
648 mediately established and thus at first only some of them go down with cunning and caution. When they come into the more inhabited districts, they watch and investigate everything that they wish to know; frequently this investigation extends all the way to Paramaribo. Now the Bush Negroes thought that if they followed their custom in this it would be clear to them why these signs had been placed in the bush and that as a result of these they would very quickly become acquainted with the declared amnesty.

202 I must add here also that in fact many fugitives or
648 persons in hiding later came out of the forests, among whom must

/31 cont./

202 be mentioned in particular the man who caused so much of a stir,
• 641 Broos, chief of a camp of persons in hiding behind the plantation Rac a Rac, who came back followed by many.

I must confess that I have never seen this chief and was not involved in this event in any way; the question is, however, whether this Broos and his followers came back of their own accord, or whether they returned without fear of the Whites because of the reassuring signs set up at my request.

That the Bush Negroes attached to me complied with my request by the placing of /32/ signs is not to be doubted, but what outcome resulted from it cannot be said with certainty.

Chapter XXII

Deception Practiced toward Them

114 I said a few words in Chapter XX and earlier about the
641 deceptions that the Whites practiced with regard to the Bush Negroes. I was at first diffident about communicating the unvarnished truth about this. Since, however, this is not reported by me as being generally applicable, because, as in all things, here, too, favorable exceptions exist, I therefore regard it as my duty to make my experience known.

186 The Bush Negroes, it cannot be denied, as the result
648 of the manifold deceptions that they have experienced from the Europeans and other free inhabitants of this colony, have developed an aversion toward them. They therefore oppose deception with deception, and trick with trick.

439 It has become apparent to me that many of them, when
648 they arrive with timber rafts at the plantations in order to sell the timber, after having been deceived several times, make use of all kinds of tricks in order in their turn to deceive the Europeans. I leave now to one side the question as to which of the two parties is the principal or initiating cause and has the greater responsibility in these fraudulent transactions. When a family of Bush Negroes

/33 cont./

439 When, for instance, the Bush Negro has cut down a
437 tree deep in the forest and discovers that it is almost hollow on
313 the inside, then he works it, this defect notwithstanding, into a
186 squared log, taking care to make the visible cavities above and below invisible by hammering wooden pins into it. After that he takes clay and mud and is able to make every trace disappear, a fraud which is thus rarely discovered before a piece is sawed off the log.

Also they practice a great deal of deception by unloading on the buyer as good stuff various qualities of timber of great and little value, but which resemble each other, for instance, by selling a low quality black kabbes (1) for brown hardwood (2).

1. Andira retusa H. B. K.

2. Andira called wassila among the Arrawakken /Arawak/ Indians.

two varieties which can be distinguished only by timber-experts.

/34/ If they have worked timber that on one side is already somewhat rotten, or is worm-eaten or split, then they know how to place it in such a way in their rafts that the good side lies upward, a deception that can be discovered only when it has been hauled ashore and one becomes aware of it by turning each piece around and inspecting it carefully.

186 If it is possible to steal something from the Whites,
● 648 they will not fail to do so. They are also guilty of lying and give themselves the names of those who still possess the confidence of the Whites, which they can do with impunity because the similarity of their coloring and facial features makes it extremely difficult for the Whites to recognize them after an absence.

[829] This repeated trickery has accordingly made the Whites declare them to be scoundrels and liars, but the Bush Negroes, although they do not do so openly, say the same of them and
577 regard themselves as much more trustworthy and honest. That they do this with some appearance of justice cannot be denied; after

/136/

121 The agriculture of the Bush Negroes, however, has become
[241] a matter which urgently demands the attention of the administration as a result of the wasteful use of land. Until now little attention has been paid to this, but if one wants to develop the interior of Surinam, this problem will also have to be looked into.

101 The data provided here throw light upon the agriculture of
121 the Paramaccaners and the Aucaners on the Marowijne and the
[103] Tapanahoni. They were gathered during the above-mentioned medical expedition and during a trip to the Tapanahoni in October, 1952. The facts thus refer primarily to the Marowijne, but in general they are certainly also valid for the other rivers along
121 which the Bush Negroes live. It is a typically Surinam problem,
● 643 connected with the circumstance that the Bush Negroes have worked in the deep interior in the same fashion for hundreds of years, independent of the life in the civilized coastal region and almost completely outside the sphere of interest of the government.

2. The Grounds System

241 For the planting of agricultural crops the Bush Negro lays out little so-called food grounds. One is to understand by this
[311] cleared pieces of ground in the virgin forest on which the crops are cultivated. The grounds lie along the rivers on higher flat lands, mostly terraces that are not submerged during high water or, in the absence of such terrain, on the slopes of hills. They are more or less circular and have a surface area of a half to one and a half hectares.

241 During the long dry season (October, November) the men
221 clear the grounds. Two to three weeks thereafter the forest that
132 has been felled is burned; the smaller branches are cleared away,
462 but the trunks are left lying. The ground is not worked. As soon as the rains of the short rainy season begin, they start to plant and sow. This planting time falls in December and January. The wives of the Bush Negroes (for only the women do the further work) now plant all kinds of crops at the same time on one and the same ground.

/513/

The scarcity of lipide foods, and, among the Boni, the low consumption of fruit might cause one to fear vitamin deficiencies. In fact, there are no signs of it.

Body hygiene is excellent; Blacks and Indians bathe several times a day and are very fastidious about their persons.

In summary, there is no appreciable difference in the customary activities, agriculture, hunting, and fishing, of the two populations. There is one in economic activity. Among the Boni, who have a greater need for imported objects, the adult men work for wages four to five months per year on the average. These jobs are very laborious and performed under bad dietary conditions, whereas the Indians rest when they are not occupied with their customary tasks, sometimes spending entire days stretched out in the hammock.

The two populations have been in close contact for a long time. The Indian villages farthest downstream have immediate contact with the first crop plantings of the Boni. Without having any tendency to merge (their characters and their customs are too different), Boni and Oayana have maintained regular relations since the end of the eighteenth century, doing a little trade in imported articles exchanged for hammocks and dogs trained for hunting. They often visit each other, and nothing stops the spread of illness from the one group to the other.

In fact, the way of life of the two groups is the same, the environmental conditions have the same influence, and the differences which are observed in the pathology can only be attributed to a different sensitivity with regard to the principal illnesses.

Pathology of the Boni. We shall briefly summarize here the observations of Dr. A. Sausse in his work Populations primitives du Maroni.

The pathology of the Boni is characterized by:

-- a resistance to malaria, which means that if the children have bad attacks an immunity will develop with age; the size of the spleen diminishes regularly from child to adult. The adults have only episodical attacks which are not serious; in particular

R /515 cont./
175 These small repeated epidemics have been part, one might
164 say, of the ordinary pathology of the Oayana since their first con-
R tacts with the imported populations.

164 --Cases of dysentery are also observed, probably bacillary,
165 sometimes in the form of minor epidemics. This is a secondary
R cause of mortality;
164 --Children show, just as among the Boni, a massive intestinal infestation by hookworms and Anguillula.

The Oayana very rarely have skin diseases; "their tegument is intact. One does not see any mycosis or ulcers among them, nor any dermotropic diseases. Leprosy and pian are unknown among them; even the small wounds which the Indians get in the woods, and which suppurate so frequently among the Blacks, heal quickly, even more quickly than among Europeans, who, however, disinfect their wounds" (4).

4. Dr. Andre Sausse, op. cit., p. 113.

R
[648] There are no venereal diseases among the Indians because they do not have sexual relations with the other groups.

R The rest of the pathology of the Indians shows nothing re-
114 markable. Their disappearance has often been attributed to
733 alcoholism. That is an assertion which does not stand up to ex-
R amination. Before 1950, the Indians, never having any money,
273 were not in a position to buy rum. With regard to their cachiri (5),

5. Fermented drink prepared from a manioc base; very small percentage of alcohol.

of which they absorb great quantities on the occasion of celebrations, it produces indigestion rather than intoxication; for that matter they do not drink any more of it than in former times when their tribes were numerous and strong.

R
743 /516/ Effects of Medical Assistance. Until 1949 the Boni and the
648 Oayana remained very isolated and practically deprived of all medical help. The beliefs of both, attributing illnesses to

B R The beliefs of both, attributing illnesses to
/516 cont./
743 supernatural causes, did not predispose them to turn to European
● 648 doctors. Moreover, the Saint-Laurent hospital was so far away
[753] (six days paddling downstream) that a seriously ill person had plenty of time to die en route. The Boni went there only as a last resource and in general at the point of death. As for the Oayana,
B R not a single one presented himself there before 1950.

744 In 1936-1939 several circuits had been made from the post
648 of La Forestière located at the mouth of the river, but no consistent
[743] medical action had been feasible. Not until 1949 was it possible
B to create a medical center in the country itself, at Maripasoula.
R The populations were visited regularly, and the seriously ill could
[164] be hospitalized on the spot. At the same time systematic spraying with DDT inside all the huts, destroying the anthropophile anopheles, changed the environmental conditions considerably; if malaria has not disappeared, it has ceased, both among the
B Indians and among the Boni children, to be the principal cause of
R morbidity.

743 The action of the medical center has been exercised more on
744 the Boni, who live a few hours by canoe from Maripasoula, than on
648 the Oayana. Among the latter, the principal villages are two days
[484] journey by motorboat upstream amidst difficult waterfalls; the
[753] Indians are often on the move, fishing on the upper courses of the rivers or visiting their relatives on Brazilian rivers; it has happened several times that the circuits of the doctors and medical attendants (one per trimester on the average) do not find anybody in the villages; incidentally, the Oayana tend to attribute
R all internal ailments to magical causes, consulting willingly only
[844] for wounds. They willingly accept the remedies given on the spot, but rarely take the initiative of moving a sick person to Maripasoula; the women continue to have their babies delivered
R in the villages, without any hygiene.

757 Only during the last three or four years has a change in
165 attitude been noticeable among them vis-à-vis medicine; as we
B shall show below, no notable modification in their mortality has
R yet been observed as a result of this fact.

121 The principal interest of this study being to compare the
165 demographic data of two populations before they had been modified

5: Hurault--23 K1 E-5 (1948-1959) 1959 SR8 Bush Negroes SR8
Rucuyen SR12
Emerillon SR8

/525 cont./

III. – Demography of the Oayana Indians

The inquiry covered the five Oayana villages on the French bank, grouping together 170 persons in December 1957. We were able, moreover, to interrogate most of the women of the villages on the Surinam side, with the result that the actual dimension of the group studied comes to approximately 240 persons (12).

12. In January 1959 we studied the Oyampi and Emerillon Indians of Oyapok, about 190 in number, whose demographic characteristics are very close to those of the Oayana. The data obtained, compared to those concerning the Oayana, are indicated below.

Conditions of the inquiry. The Oayana villages do not have a stable population; a simple disagreement suffices to provoke the departure of a faction, which goes to join another village. About half of the Oayana studied here came from the Yari (Brazil) during the years 1951 and 1952 and have benefited from medical help only since that time. We can therefore acknowledge that the total population has benefited from medical care since 1951.

Since 1952, even if the internal composition of the villages has varied, we are dealing on the whole with the same population, which may be regarded as relatively stable.

/526/ The inquiry, conducted at three times (December 1956, December 1957, and November 1958), allowed us to cover the whole group except for some units (absent on a journey to Brazil).

The determination of the ages has been made by comparison with the Boni. Oayana and Boni, acquainted since childhood, can say with precision which ones are close to their age.

Historic guidelines have also been used, notably from the voyage of the explorer Laveau, 1913-1915.

B 487 501 505 /8 cont./ The Pirogues of the Refugee Blacks, carrying a useful load of from 1,000 to 2,000 kilograms, are the normal means for provisioning the placers and European settlements of the Interior. The use of outboard motors on these small boats tends to become more general, but navigation remains difficult and dangerous and the Refugee Blacks continue to draw the essential part of their resources from these trips. /Fig. 1 appears here./

/9/ Populations

B F 162 648 The Maroni Basin is relatively populated if it is compared with the rest of Guiana. The population includes three human groups which are very different from one another and have absolutely no tendency to merge although they maintain friendly relations.

F 101 177 1) Creoles. This is the name of the colored persons who lead a life with individual characteristics and have adopted European forms of life in part, by contrast to the Refugee Blacks who live in tribes under the command of chiefs. African blood F 144 is dominant in the Creoles, especially among the gold miners.

In 1958 there were no more than about 800 Maroni Creoles, F 131 almost all gold miners or traders, grouped principally around the 361 little Surinam mining center of Benzdorp; very small villages of 161 gold miners are scattered along the principal tributaries of the 463 Maroni, notably the Abounami, the Great and the Little Inini, the Waki.

F 167 The Maroni Creoles are nearly all foreigners, the great majority originally from the British West Indies, more specifically from Santa Lucia and Barbados; there are very few among them F 197 from the French West Indies or the Guianas.

All speak dialects with a French base, very close to one another but rather different from the very special patois of the

/10 cont./

162 131 36 [103] 563 178 [181] The Boni, about 1,000 in number, occupy the course of the Lawa between Abounasounga Falls to the north and the falls of the Litani to the south. Their "great villages," that is, their residential villages, are: Agodé (Boniville), Kotika, Asisi, Loka, Papaï'ston, Kormotibo, Lapé, and l'Enfant Perdu. Three small villages founded more recently are established on the lower course of the Maroni. The territorial implantation of the Boni has been disturbed by the settlement of Creole gold miners on their territory for three quarters of a century. Their demographic situation is mediocre and their tribal organization, compared to that of the other tribes, has lost much of its strength. However, they still make up a human grouping full of strength and originality.

131 361 [162] [161] [648] [619] The Djuka, whose "great villages" are in Surinam territory on the /11/ Tapanahoni, can be evaluated at 7,000 to 8,000 in total. At the height of demographic expansion, their farming villages swarm on both banks of the Maroni and on the islands, penetrating more and more deeply into the interior of French Guiana, where in places they form small temporary groupings living in symbiosis with the Creole gold miners; the Boni recognize their right to cross their territory but not that of establishing villages in it.

433 648 [461] [465] [178] [166] [182] For a century the economy of the Refugee Blacks has been founded on a symbiosis with the Europeans and Creoles; they furnish specialized labor (construction, but above all, transport) in exchange for relatively high wages. This economy finds itself threatened by the gradual disappearance of gold mining; there is developing a tendency toward temporary emigration to the European work yards of Saint-Laurent analogous to that of the Saramaka of Surinam to French Guiana. This is a serious threat to the interior cohesion of the tribes.

/15 cont./ Thus it was at
423 the time of the Lawa gold rushes (1890) that Grand Man Anato
643 caused rent to be paid by the Creole miners who were settling in
[648] the region. But this practice, excessive when the small portion of this territory actually occupied by the Boni is considered, ended
423 up by falling into disuse. Nowadays things have fallen into the
648 opposite extreme, and the Boni find themselves having no right,
178 customary or otherwise, over the country of their ancestors; the first comer, even of the Creoles from the British West Indies, can settle anywhere, dislocating the apportionment of the land among lineages. This situation has been harmful to the life of the tribe by contributing to the scattering of the peopling. Perhaps it is not too late to remedy the situation. An /16/ /Figure 2 appears here./ /17/ African tribe cannot live wholesomely if there are no definite relationships, entailing unquestioned rights, between the group and the land.

423 The following modus vivendi has been in force for many
619 years:

[486] a) The Djuka may circulate freely across Boni country, but
[166] they may not establish villages in it; if they wish to make clearings there, they must ask for permission from the grand man.
[226] Otherwise they have the right to fish on the Tanpok and the Waki.

423 b) The Creoles may settle anywhere and make their clear-
648 ings where the lands are not used. But that does not modify in the minds of the Boni the lineages' rights over the land; this occupation is regarded as creating no new right; for example, the Doglis habitation is built on the lands of Kormotibo village.

423 c) The Boni reserve for themselves along with the Oayana
648 Indians the exclusive right to fish on the Litani and the Maruini.
822 On these rivers the Djuka do not have the right to penetrate.
[619] The Boni may be computed at a little less than 1,000 persons
162 all told.

/23 cont./

621 175 [166] [103] Agodé was founded by Grand Man Ochi, probably about 1895, at the time when the Boni were required by the settlement of the Lawa Dispute to evacuate the villages they were occupying on the Surinam bank. The name Boniville was given by the gold miners; it was used never at all by the Boni.

621 613 [103] The Yakubi or Kotika lineage forms the important village of Kotika (1). It is one of those which have remained best grouped.

1. This word alludes to the river where the rebellion of 1772 began.

[423] [241] [103] Its members have exclusive rights over the region included between Abunasunga Falls and their village. They have farmed there for more than a century, and this is why the region is called Abattis Kotika.

613 621 175 [648] Kotika is the oldest Boni village. It is one of those founded by the survivors of the battles against the Dutch when, about 1815, they settled again on the Lawa. Until about 1895 nearly all the Boni were grouped in one large village, each lineage occupying a different quarter. At the time of the settlement, unfavorable to France, of the Lawa Dispute (1895), the various lineages emigrated, founding especially the villages of l'Enfant Perdu, Loka, Boniville, and Papaïston. Only the members of the Kotika lineage stayed, in full agreement with the grand man, so that the ancestral land might not be completely abandoned.

[648] [628] Thus the inhabitants of this village are nowadays under the authority of Surinam, without ceasing, for that reason, to be faithful to the grand man and maintaining normal relations with the other groups.

613 614 [124] The genealogies reconstituted in 1957 by systematic interrogation of the old people of the group had led to three distinct fractions which we shall call Kotika 1, 2, and 3, tracing respectively back to ancestresses named Kénéya, Amawi, and Oka.

/29 cont./

121 This is what necessitates as precise an inventory as possible of the population in its present state.

61 114 184 Matrilineal kin groups among the Djuka and Saramaka Refugee Blacks. Authors who have described the social structure of the Djuka and Saramaka, groupings appreciably more numerous than the Boni, have also called attention to the use of the words lo and bɛɛ, but give them a completely different meaning.

174 571 621 The organization they describe can be summarized thus:

Before making up tribes, the rebels lived in small groups near the plantations from which they had escaped; these groups of composite origin were designated by the word lo which means: troop, band; the same word is used to designate a band of animals.

[162] [103] These rebels used to belong to all the nations of the west coast of Africa. In spots there may have been an attempt at regroupings of elements belonging to the same nation, as proven by the village names Loango, Dahomey, among the Saramaka.

[622] But the majority of these small groups were very probably of heterogeneous origin; in each of these lo, the bravest and most capable was designated as head.

[648] [169] After the recognition of the Djuka and Saramaka by the government of Surinam and their regrouping on the great rivers of the interior, these groups kept their unity since they had a de facto organization and leaders. They were naturally designated by the name of the plantation they had come from. We say for example Dju nēnge for the former slaves of the Jews, Kōpani nēnge for the former slaves of the Compagnie des Indes Orientales /Fast India Company/. /30/

174 613 614 621 57 1161 In the course of the 19th century the total number of Refugee Blacks increased very rapidly under the influence of a high birth rate. The lineages in the proper meaning of the term bɛɛ, meaning the descendants of the same ancestress, took on sufficient importance to constitute distinct social units. They grouped in

/34 cont./

601 In speaking to one's mother, one uses a special expression, often formed of ma followed by the last syllable of her name.

For example, Asakundu (Lapé lo) is called Ma Ndu or Mama Ndu by her sons. Béniti (Dju lo, †1955) was called Ma Béniti or Anti by her children.

601 602 The appellations relating to patrilineage are exactly the same except for mi ta, my father. But as these patrilineages have no practical social function, being limited to the transmission of an interdiction, the kinship ties are not known beyond the second generation and people bother very little with them.

601 When one addresses someone of a different lineage one uses, in deference, the same terms whether the person being addressed appears to be the same age or older. This is particularly clear for old people who are uniformly called papa and mama. For people of about one's own age, if one knows them well one says ba So-and-so /male/ or sa So-and-so /female/. For men one does not know well one often uses masa So-and-so (masa = Mr.). The Boni are quite punctilious in this respect. It is very 551 disagreeable to them to be called directly by their name; their • 648 European employers have the custom of speaking to them thus; they accept it on their part but not without reticence.

601 Special appellations result from marriage; the terms used are reciprocal:

Pay designates the relationship between father-in-law, son-in-law or daughter-in-law.

May — the relationship between mother-in-law, son-in-law.

Soagi — the relationship between brothers-in-law.

X ãŋga mi pay means "X is my father-in-law" as well as "X is my son-in-law."

As a general rule a man calls soagi all those whom his wife calls brothers in the classificatory sense, and pay all whom she calls uncles. But the term may is used only with respect to the wife's own mother.

/39 cont./

121 It seemed to us that in the present state of knowledge about the Refugee Blacks a study of limited scope but covering the totality of the population was preferable to the very intensive study of a small group; only the study of the population considered in its entirety brings out clearly its family custom, its tendencies in the matter of marriage, divorce, inheritance; it alone can lead to a precise knowledge of its demographic data so important even on the social plane.

Finally, this detailed inventory constitutes a firm base for following the evolution of the population in the future.

125 Taking a census of the Boni posed a problem much more difficult than for most populations without vital statistics. The
● 648 tribes of the Refugee Blacks enjoy in effect a statute of autonomous nations under protectorate and insist fiercely on this autonomy. The French administration has never been able to take a census of them any more than the administration of Surinam has for the Djuka and Saramaka, colliding with an ingenious ill will which defies all efforts.

It is not that they fear taxes (this is a notion practically unknown in Guiana, even on the coast (1), and the French

1. Practically, in the interior of the country, with the exception of traders who are subject to a license, nobody pays taxes and there are not even any lists of taxable people. The Creoles of the interior (principally from the British West Indies) are known only because of the fact that, as foreign subjects, they must make declaration of change of residence; French citizens are scarcely known at the administrative

/39 cont./

• 648 posts except as they present themselves for recording of vital statistics or for registration on voting lists.

administration has for a long time appeared /40/ in the eyes of the inhabitants of the interior as a benevolent office); but they obey the old African maxim of never telling the whites more than half of what they know.

125 In the absence of any nominal census which could serve as a point of departure, this job presented considerable difficulties arising principally from the extreme mobility of the population:

[484] —Never is the whole population of a village assembled together simultaneously; the proportion of those absent frequently reaches 50 per cent, especially in the fine season (hunting, fishing, boating, clearings at the farming habitations, etc.);

[551] —A good many men and women have two, sometimes three, names used interchangeably. If one does not personally know a large part of the inhabitants of the villages and does not have at his disposal carefully made-up genealogical tables, it is impossible to understand anything;

[115] —If the men respond in good faith, it is not the same with the women, who are inaccessible to any reasoning. Some try to cash in on the information they give, others obstinately refuse to answer;

125 591 342 —A number of adolescents and even of men between 20 and 35 years old have no regular hut. Each Boni, man or woman, is in principle expected to build a hut in one of the "great villages." But this residence may be fictitious: It can, for example, be a tumbled-down hut which they intend to put up again some day... or the pent roof of the house of the mother or a brother, under which they install themselves on days when a ceremony causes the lineage to meet together, residing the rest of the year in a farming habitation.

/41 cont./

125 [128] We estimate the gaps in the census at less than 3 per cent. These gaps involve essentially the adolescents and young people orphaned or raised by others than their parents.

The adults over 35 years old were practically all known individually to us. Children under 10 years could be counted very exactly thanks to the distribution of milk carried out since 1956 by the Maripasoula medical center.

125 128 162 Classification. The classification of the population was made by village of residence.

For each woman we have indicated her successive unions and the children who issued from them. The sign † means deceased, the sign ✱ divorce, the sign †† means that the husband is deceased but after the break-up of the union.

The listings for women preceded by an asterisk * indicate that they can be regarded as complete from the demographic point of view (children living and deceased).

A double asterisk ** indicates that the listing can in addition be regarded as complete with regard to successive marriages and divorces (2).

2. We avoided asking directly these questions to which the women replied unwillingly. The information was obtained indirectly by questioning brothers and husbands. It could be obtained complete for only about 30 per cent of the women.

/43 cont./

114 of the true foundresses and the circumstances of the formation of
613 the lineages (invaluable information which must still have been present in the memory of the old men at the end of the last century) are lost forever.

128 In order to simplify the drawing up of the genealogical
601 tables, we have eliminated individuals deceased before adult age.

128 Names. To insure the necessary anonymity to our informants
551 without diminishing the accuracy of the statement, we have
601 changed a large part of the names. The fictitious names under
162 which individuals are designated in the genealogical tables as
[101] well as in the inventory of the population were mostly taken from the Djuka, who belong to the same cultural and linguistic group; in other cases, in order "to figure" the census we used a more complex process consisting in exchanging the names of two persons. Children younger than 15 are designated simply by an initial (1).

•[648] 1. It is particularly disagreeable to the Refugee Blacks to have their children's names known by Europeans, with the exception of
[123] the doctor. All systematic questioning on this subject runs into clear hostility.

114 Despite these precautions, we recommend that travelers
609 provided with this work make no allusion in front of the Boni to the facts related in it; the Refugee Blacks are very proud and cannot allow an outsider to penetrate forthwith into their family privacy. That would provoke lively hostility toward the indiscreet person and would hinder later work.

114 The table of correspondence between true and fictitious
128 names is held at the disposal of sociologists who may wish to conduct studies on the Boni.

/70 cont./

643 613 In 1957 the Dikan lineage was practically extinct. There remained only Grand Man Difu and his elder brother Samalobi, very old.

[829] The present grand man does not know the genealogy of his lineage beyond his grandmother. /Fig. 14 appears here./ /71/

[648] At the death of Awensay it was Samalobi, eldest of Awensay's classificatory nephews, who was to be named; but the French administration thought they had to oppose it, judging him too old; he yielded with good grace.

613 [165] [554] Samalobi, the ancestor, the patriarch of the Boni, died in May, 1957 at over 100 years old. Although very weakened by his infirmities and nearly blind, he kept great prestige and no important decision was made without his consent.

173 The son of Apatu, companion of Crevaux, he had retained an exact memory of the explorer whom he had accompanied during part of his trip in 1877. It is thanks to his memories that Crevaux's prestige has remained so great on the Maroni.

643 692 578 [613] [583] [584] The grand man judges without appeal disputes between members of different lineages. Truly serious affairs are extremely rare, if one keeps in mind that:

--Disputes over the payment of dowry, paying it back in case of divorce, and the assignment of the children, which form the main part of the cases argued before ordinary African jurisdictions, do not exist among the Refugee Blacks;

643 613

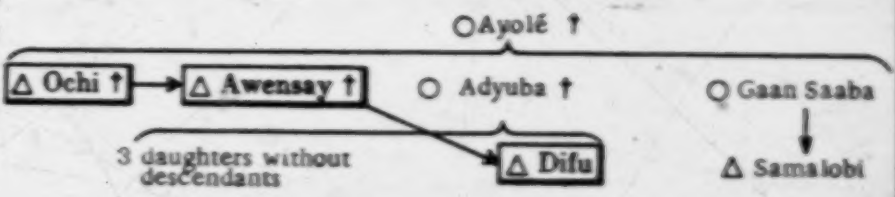

Fig. 14. Filiation of the last three grand men of the Boni.

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[578]
[423]

/71 cont./

--Disputes over the appropriation of lands are very rare in Boni country because of the sparseness of population.

We have never seen the grand man hold anything other than audiences of conciliation relative to people who had fought or threatened each other. [183] The custom of the Refugee Blacks would indeed be difficult to fit into a code. The state of persons and social duties derive so directly from beliefs that the intervention of a judge is not indispensable for the functioning of the society.

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The grand man is supposed to retain power over all the lands of Boni country which are not allocated to lineages; in particular, this is the case with the upper basin of the headstreams of the Lawa.

[648]
[184]

It is above all by virtue of this that he is considered the suzerain of the Indians living in this territory. The same conception exists among the Djuka with respect to the headstreams of the Tapanahoni.

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724
[226]

The suzerainty of the grand man over the land and waters is marked, as in Africa, by special rights in the domain of hunting and fishing. He alone can authorize group fishing on the great river by the process of la nivrée. The same problem does not hold for hunting which is practiced in a strictly individual fashion. But it is taken for granted that if a tapir (1) is killed in Boni country,

1. The tapir is the largest animal of the bush.

the hunter must carry its head as well as a thigh to the grand man.

643
648

A certain misunderstanding reigns between the Europeans and the Boni on the subject of the duties of the grand man. The Europeans tend to believe that he commands the tribe in the way in which a colonel commands a regiment, that he can designate a certain man for a certain job, fix the price of boats, etc. The grand man tries to give satisfaction to the administration /72/ to justify the pay he draws, but he succeeds very badly in it, for in reality he possesses almost no temporal power.

/13 cont./

643 689 That happened especially to people who, summoned to work in the grand man's clearings, carried out their task with ill will.

About 1950, M...., of Papaïston village, had openly revolted against the grand man whom he had refused to conduct to Saint-Laurent. The grand man sentenced him to make a large stairway of planks, from the Boniville wharf to the entrance to the village, giving him an injunction to leave the country if he refused. M... ended by yielding and executed the large stairway which can now be seen at the Boniville wharf.

643 648 299 199 The grand man is constantly concerned about his prestige and dignity; he is almost always dressed in the European manner and in ceremonies wears an impeccable white uniform; the French administration gives him a relatively large salary and, when he comes to Cayenne, he is put up in the hospital in the apartments reserved for officers.

643 [576] [646] [357] [466] To greet the grand man one does not look directly at him but places himself in profile with respect to him.

The grand man has no servants (that would be contrary to the morality of the Refugee Blacks) and leads a very simple life. Still, he does not do any hard manual labor; each year he calls together a certain number of men from each lo to work in his clearings; he does not pay them, for this work is an obligation provided for by custom, but he feeds them heartily.

643 466 Likewise, for his traveling, he requisitions by turns as boatmen two or three of his subjects. Sometimes also he requisitions women to help his wife at harvest time.

On the other hand, for all other work he may need (such as the construction of a large boat) he has to pay like everyone else and he is not given any reduction.

/81 cont./

423 222 613 621 [425] The right to fish in certain rivers is held by lineages; other rivers are regarded as property common to the inhabitants of a village, whatever their kinship may be.

For example, the right to fish in Kumata Kiiki, a small creek of the Surinam bank, near the village of Kotika, is reserved for members of the Lapé lineage (the members of this lineage farmed there formerly, but they abandoned these lands, currently farmed by the Kotika people).

Maripa and Likanaon creeks, downstream from Boniville, are reserved for the inhabitants of Boniville.

Asisi Creek is reserved for the inhabitants of Asisi (Djo, Awara Bakka, and Dipélu II lineages).

423 [224] The right to hunt cannot be reserved; everyone has the right to hunt anywhere.

[222] [313] The right to gather and the right to cut trees for making planks or boats is generally bound up with the right to farm.

423 316 319 The right to collect underground products is completely independent of the right to farm. For example, if someone finds a seam of kaolin (pémba) on the lands of another lineage, he exploits it freely. This aspect of the legal conceptions of the Refugee Blacks is very interesting, for it shows that even from the point of view of customary law, the grand man is not entitled to exercise any rights over the production of the Creole gold miners. 423 316 ● 648 He could demand indemnities only insofar as these gold miners farm lands over which the Boni exercise customary rights. The interminable discussions which the claims of Grand Man Anato brought on at the time of the Lawa gold rush at the end of the past century would have been avoided by a better knowledge of the customary law.

/132 cont./

868 [501] To this traditional knowledge, which remains indispensable, has been added for the past several years substantial knowledge of mechanics, because the use of outboard motors is becoming more and more common; this knowledge is transmitted in empirical fashion as it has been acquired. It must be recorded that the motors go and that they are well kept up.

86 The system of education employed by the Refugee Blacks is surely effective; their children are excessively turbulent and very difficult when they are in a group. When they are divided up individually in the midst of adults, they are placed under the best conditions for learning the techniques and traditions of their group.

429 513 The person charged with the education of a child does not willingly entrust him to another and takes him along whenever he moves. However, by concern for propriety, the woman guardian sends the children she is raising to sleep in other houses on the days when her husband comes to visit her. Boys go to sleep at the home of a brother, an uncle, a comrade; the same for girls who have not yet reached puberty; but it is not the same for girls who have reached puberty; they are subjected to strict supervision.

648 891 156 This is one of the reasons why the Boni find it repugnant to put their children in school (French school of Maripasoula, Surinam school of Kotika). Without wishing to tackle here this sad problem to its fullest extent, we must state that this teaching, entirely inappropriate and dispensed by teachers who look down on the Refugee Blacks, has results nearly similar to those observed generally in Africa, the main one being to make the children strangers to their own families and misfits in their own country. There is practically no example of a case where the Boni nation has benefited from having one of its children go to school: if the child succeeds, he leaves for Paramaribo and never comes back again. If he fails, he then has much more

/132 cont./

difficulty in learning the techniques of his group, for the years when the mind is most pliant have been lost in this regard; as for the knowledge acquired at school, it is so foreign to the life of the Refugee Blacks that at the end of a few years none of it remains except vague smatterings.

In general, the process of education employed among the Refugee Blacks is imitation of the adult. A child is rarely given a lesson as such. He sees something done, he tries on his own initiative, and little by little he learns. For example, /133/ he sees his guardian make a boat; he is simply asked to go and get dry palm branches and to take away the chips; he hears the adults discuss the job as it goes on. At about the age of 12 or 13 he tries to make a first boat for himself with the help of an older comrade. He progressively acquires knowledge of this technique.

Boys begin to take part in farm work from the age of six or seven, principally weeding and planting. At about ten or eleven they begin to handle the machete and help to cut through the bush; at about 12 they begin to handle the axe and learn to fell trees. At 14 or 15 they begin to make small boats. An adolescent of 16 or 17 is in general capable of cutting a clearing for his mother or sister.

Most often the guardian takes his role very seriously, giving his main attention to teaching the child all that is necessary. If it is a woman, she asks her brothers to teach the techniques of boating and building.

The principle is to develop very early a sense of responsibility in the child by making it progressively necessary for him to earn his living. The guardian does not furnish pocket money, and with the exception of a hammock every other year, no manufactured objects (children under 11-12 years not being clothed, he has almost no expenses for clothing). But he gives the child progressively chances to earn money by his work. From ten years on, the child begins to render some services: for example for the construction of a boat, he helps transport the dry palm branches intended for the burning. If the boat is being

/140 cont./

184 589 Whatever its origin, we should note that the Saramaka custom has no relation, as far as its legal content is concerned, to the levirate, nor to the inheritance of widows as it is practiced in numerous African societies. It does not correspond in any way to the transmission of a right over the widow, since this right does not exist; it probably results from the idea that the widow is better protected from the effects of the dead man's jealousy if she marries one of his brothers. Besides, she may [583] choose from among all his classificatory brothers, in the matrilineage as in the patrilineage, which assures her of a wide [586] choice. She can break this union without any compensation after some months of living together and resume complete liberty.

587 Statistics of marriages between kin groups. We have listed on the table opposite, the total unions for which we have been able to identify with certainty the kinship of the spouses, including those broken by divorce and death. Their total number is 411.

582 619 The table emphasizes the more or less great frequency of unions between /141/ /table appears here/ /142/ such-and-such kin groups, as well as the frequency of unions between Boni women and men of other tribes, DJUKA PARAMAKA, and SARAMAKA.

Out of a total of 411 unions of Boni women one notes:
--327 with BONI (80%);
-- 30 with DJUKA (12%);
-- 21 with SARAMAKA (5%);
-- 5 with PARAMAKA (1%);
[648] -- 8 with Creoles from Surinam (2%)

The proportion of intertribal marriages (20%) is high; it results from the frequent presence on the Maroni of Djuka or Saramaka boatmen coming to carry on transport. The reciprocal is not true; marriages between Boni men and women

[Text Continues on P. 209]

Marriage of Boni women of the lineages:

Husband's lineage

Marriages with outsiders

bet. fract.

* between fractions ** in same fraction

Boni

Citation: 208 K-6 (1948-1958) 1961 SRS Bush Negroes SR

/158 cont./

848 If children are born of these irregular liaisons, the mother
[784] takes care to know with certainty who the father is, for if there
[753] were any doubt, the child, respecting a kina which would not be his own, would contract leprosy. On this subject the Boni
842 have a remarkable belief: they think that it is the first man with whom a woman has had relations after the end of a menstrual period who is likely to make her pregnant.

836 These adventures always involve gifts in kind (cloth,
431 jewels); so the men who have the most success with women are always short of money.

581 A woman who has lived thus in notorious fashion has a little more difficulty than another in finding another husband, but if she is young and winsome she succeeds.

548 Prostitution as such is very rare in Boni country, and the women who give themselves over to it openly (three or four for all the villages on the French bank) have generally left the
[836] tribe to settle in the gold miners' villages. Dissoluteness is not considered dishonorable by the Refugee Blacks when it is carried on within the tribe and when it has no other purpose but pleasure; but prostitution is judged shameful.

834 Except for these few prostitutes, we have never heard it
648 said that a Boni woman had relations with a European; on this point tribal discipline is observed with extreme rigor.

581 Conclusion. The average duration of marriages, which was
[178] from 15 to 20 years for the preceding generation, tends to become shorter and can be estimated nowadays at about ten years.
[191] In spite of this evolution, the stability of marriages among the Refugee Blacks remains noticeably greater than that observed
548 among the black populations of South America. Among them is not seen the form of prostitution so widespread in South America, the supported mistress who does not work and who lives entirely at the expense of her successive lovers.

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[173] /192 cont./ thus it is that they have kept a rather exact description of the elephant (leu) and the gorilla (malẽgwana).

[648] imposed on the slaves has prevailed. There is nothing surprising about that, since the slaveholders tried, in order to prevent revolts, to mix to the maximum the Blacks of the various tribes.

174 A certain number of men initiated in differing degrees
177 into African cults were among the rebels. They tried to conserve and transmit these rites, which their descendants have more or less transposed or deformed (2). As far as one can

[182] 2. The single fact that the vegetation and fauna differed totally from those of Africa immediately required a modification of ritual which called for infusions of leaves of numerous plants to which definite magical properties are attributed.

[198] As far as one can judge by the secret languages attached to these cults, in which are recognized many words deformed from the ordinary language, and a few Indian words, these cults in their present state must [178] differ appreciably from the ones which gave them birth. In fact, the only thing the Refugee Blacks have authentically kept is concepts, metaphysical and moral ideas.

6:Hurault--303 K-5 (1948-1958) 1961 SR8 Bush Negroes SR8
Boni
Surinam SR4

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/197 cont./

Odun's laws create an irreducible cleavage between the Refugee Blacks and the Creoles. The Creoles of Surinam, like the West Indian gold miners of the Maroni, profess Christianity, but they have a special conception of it, associating with Christian ideas /198/ beliefs of various origins and often magic practices. If in quasi-totality they reject magic aimed at doing harm without reason, they take very generally for granted:

--Counter sorcery inspired by vengeance;

--"Invocations" to the spirits of the dead and divers magic formulas in which it is believed one captures the vital force of these spirits in order to make practical use of it;

--Charms having the purpose of forcing the love of a person one desires.

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The Creoles are as attached to these conceptions as the Refugee Blacks to the laws of Odun, which are absolutely contrary to them. They have such importance in the thought of both that it would be unthinkable to make a group of Creoles and a group of Refugee Blacks live together for any appreciable length of time integrated into the same organization. Attempts made to do this, especially in Surinam, have always failed. When an economic activity engages them in the same work in the same locality, Creoles and Refugee Blacks form two separate groupings, each living according to its own law.

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[613]

If Refugee Blacks leave their group for any great length of time to settle in the midst of Creoles, if they do not come back periodically to renew the oath of Odun, it is taken for granted that they have abjured his laws and that they are suspect of wisi. It happens that people who have spent a whole portion of their lives in the midst of the Creoles come back to live in their native village because they are prey to adversity or sickness; they are always welcomed (the lineage cannot expel one of its members), but chances are great that they will be declared wisimi upon their death. This was especially the case with an

787 /212 cont./
531 can read these messages; but we have not turned up any precise evidence on this subject (1).

1. These signs are very little systematized and have no relation whatever with the symbolic designs which figure in certain rituals of possession, especially in Dahomey and Haiti. It is permitted to see in them a simple likeness.

787 The Papa gadu are chiefly consulted to ask them to re-
[255] veal the cause of misfortunes that happen. One of them is not
[253] asked to cure an illness unless the interrogation reveals that it brought it on.

776 The worship of the Papa gadu snake gods makes a strong
648 impression on the West Indian Creoles who maintain regular relations with the Refugee Blacks. Most consider it as diabolical
[782] in nature and disapprove of it, but if the presence of an "adder"
[171] (anaconda snake) is noted in a neighboring creek, and if at the same time misfortunes occur, it happens that a Creole may go to ask the Refugee Blacks to practice rites to mollify
[778] the vengeance of the god. We have happened to catch sight of, hidden in a copse behind the habitation of a gold miner, a small altar decorated with blue and red pennants, the usual place of worship of the Papa gadu.

755 Observation in Boniville, November, 1952.
[787] An Asisi woman, Tini, comes to Boniville to consult her adoptive daughter Pamasa, about 35 years old, who is possessed by a Papa gadu named Adawa. Féni, 15 years old,
[164] Tini's son, has been sick for several days (fever, eruption all over the body). When someone comes to get us, the god has already entered into Pamasa, has sat down in a hut, and

/217 cont./

774 Most of the Boni are not concerned with their akka. The only ones who take heed of it are those who have reasons to believe it irritated. The worship rendered varies a good deal from one individual to another in the nature and frequency of the rites performed.

774 777 [648] For example, K.... of Papaïston village, prey to a persistent streak of bad luck, went to consult a Creole lukumã from Surinam, who revealed to him that it was the doing of unsatisfied desires of his akka. His akka wanted a black dog and a copper bracelet. He procured both for himself, and since, he says, he no longer has the same bad luck.

774 778 B.... head of T... village, has in a corner of his hut a post crudely carved in the shape of a bust with a half calabash from which emerge stalks of saŋgaafu on its head. At the side is a small fraga tiki. He tells me that this is the god of the cult of his akka; these rites are strictly personal with him.

774 [822] Most of the akka esteem white beads and red cloth. If one sees a Boni wear a red cloak, one can be almost sure that it is by order of his akka.

[787] If someone's mind wanders or he has bizarre dreams, he may see in this the feeling that his akka wishes to leave him and that he is in danger of its happening. He then goes to ask [789] an ɔbiaman to make him an akka tetɛy: this is a ring of fibers worn on the big toe and which is supposed to prevent the akka from going away.

These rites vary a lot from one individual to the other, but they have a common principle. If someone begins to attend to his akka, he cannot abandon the worship during his lifetime, or else the akka will avenge itself.

Akka worship is strictly personal and is not bequeathed upon death.

/234 cont./

628 613 to resist and fled to Boniville, where some took refuge in the water, others in the bush. About ten shacks were broken (without great damage), principally kitchens and empty sheds. Only one man could be caught and he received several punches.

The expedition of April, 1957 against the villages of L'Enfant Perdu and Kormotibo did not do much more harm. Only one good house was smashed, that of Akwali (Dip. II, Kormotibo) because its owner, passing by in a boat on the river, insulted the aggressors....

784 613 619 ●648

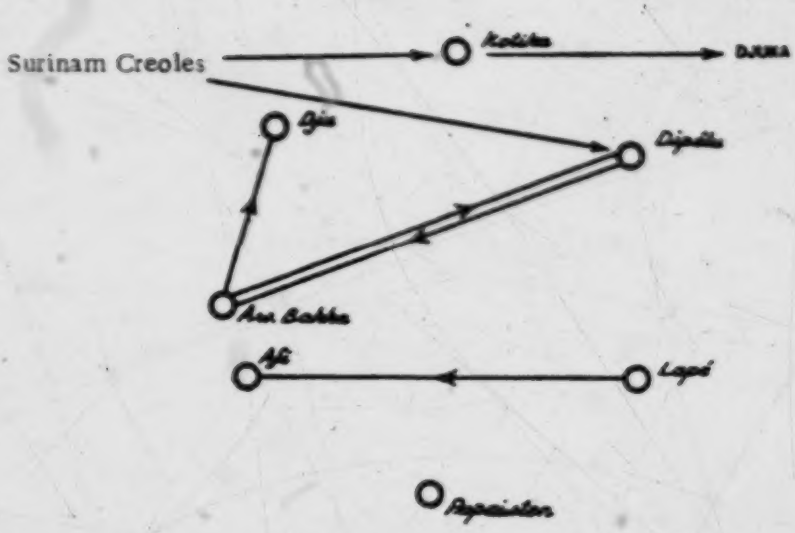

Fig. 28. Schema of the kunu exercised upon one another by the various lineages.

754 /240 cont./
775 be wisimã. We were able to draw up he list of these from
787 information from diverse sources which agreed very well.

In nearly every case persons were concerned who had already been accused, during their lifetme, of being wisimã; and on whom suspicions had been directed either by reason of their solitary life and irascible character or as a consequence of a series of coincidences.

754 In general, they tend to accuse of wisi any individual
828 who systematically isolates himself, nows ill will in the observation of customary law, or showshimself particularly selfish, irascible, or jealous.

754 /241/ They tend also to suspect thosewho in their youth had
648 abandoned the tribe for years to settle among the Creoles, and those who frequent the Creoles of theregion, known as quimboiseurs, or who go too often toSaint Laurent or Paramaribo to consult lukumã (clairvoyants) (1).

1. Consulting a clairvoyant is not contrary to the laws of Odun. Infringement o these laws begins when one daims to act upon other peope.

754 Also deemed suspect of wisi is anyne who gets rich too
434 quickly or shows an immoderate love of money. A hard-
828 working man who earns his living in broad daylight is never accused of wisi. But the one who engages in trade is suspect. It is thought, for example, that G..., who furnished a shop and earns much money, is a "pledged man." It is said also of F..., a fishing contractor particularly greedy for profit. But neither has been accused openly.

/242 cont./

754 Of course he was recognized as a wisimã by the first
764 adjuration made to his body carried in the papay on the heads
787 of two men: "If thou art a wisi man, do not come toward us."
The dead man drew back. /2../

[784] /243/ Continuation of the interrogation showed that he had not yet killed anybody, but that he had been killed by Odun when he was preparing to kill someone of his lineage.

754 The persecutors of Agyémési, contrary to their hope, did not recover after his death from the maladies which they were attributing to his sorcery; that did not shake their conviction in
755 the least. They left for Paramaribo to have themselves treated
648 by a Creole magician (for the Surinam Creoles, who practice white magic and black magic indiscriminately, are by this fact reputed to be more expert than the Refugee Blacks in combating the effects of wisi).

954 In recounting this story to us, the grand man told us that it is always necessary to be cautious with accusations of wisi,
[762] because one can never be sure. A man unjustly accused can
[784] commit suicide and pursue his accusers with his kunu (most of the Boni state that they would do so in such a case). In former
173 times, the barbarous punish[illegible]ts in use in Africa were applied
683 to revealed wisimã: they were burned alive. But people tell
784 that one of them, some months afterward, undertook against his accusers' lineage a kunu which still lasts today. He had been
[198] wrongly condemned! It is through fear of the kunu more than through care for humanity, that these punishments have been abolished.

754 It certainly seems that the constant fear of the wisimã in
[152] which the Boni live is only a collective hallucination, and that rare indeed are those who dare to indulge in practices which might draw upon them such terrible social and religious sanctions. As for these practices themselves, they appear to be without any real content, and the misfortunes attributed to them are

/244 cont./

754 695 571 In 1958, a Boniville woman, N..., was convicted of having paid a Creole quimboiseur to make the grand man die. She confessed, a rare thing in this kind of case, and the materiality of the facts did not appear doubtful. The Boni were strongly impressed by this unprecedented event, and for several weeks the members of the lineage concerned were in such agitation that one could have believed they had lost their reason. In Boniville they "held court" continually for nearly two months, and they discussed so much that farm work was neglected and part of the rice crop lost.

754 695 683 [648] What were they going to do with this woman? The laws of Odun forbade killing her, no more could she be expelled. The Boni made discreet overtures to the administration to find out whether it was not possible to have her imprisoned. They were surprised to learn that French law does not recognize the offense of sorcery. Somebody then proposed having her admitted as a servant at the leprosarium of the Acarouani on the /245/ coast. This suggestion produced a surprising result; the Boni were unanimous in thinking that making someone who was not a leper live in a leprosarium was a punishment worse than death, and they resolved to pardon her.

How does one go about it, since the laws of Odun do not permit pardoning a wisimã? Nobody could give us a satisfactory justification on this, but in 1959 A..., the preceding year spurned and maltreated, had taken up normal living again in her village.

754 761 784 In fact, a case of wisi is terminated only upon the death of the person concerned. If a man who has been accused of wisi during his lifetime dies accidentally, or is struck by a fulminating sickness, the fact that he has been chastised by Odun appears as incontestable proof. The case is fixed in the memory of the group in a specific form and will be given as an example to inspire respect for customary law.

754 181 178 [382]

/246 cont./
of his near relatives, his sister's children being regarded as the victims most pleasing to the demon.

Although in former times one to two out of ten deaths were attributed to wisi, in 1957 and 1958 out of 14 adult deaths of which we could obtain the explanation, there were:

[784]

--Four wisimã killed by Odun, including two women of over 85 who during their lifetime had never been the object of unfavorable notice;

[761]

--One death by the action of a wisimã,

or a total of more than a third of the deaths; out of the nine others, two were looked upon as natural deaths (dead of old age), seven were attributed to the kunu.

754 648

The Refugee Blacks and Creole magic. Some of them go to get from the lukumã what their own social morals forbid: vengeance or success acquired at the expense of other people. They have uttered an oath that prohibits the practice of wisi: for most of them it is clear that if they paid a playeur /magician, sorcerer/ to harm someone, it would be the same as if they performed the sorcery themselves. But others make a mental reservation on this point.

754 755 648

In 1951, G..., of the Kotika lo, then about 20 years old, felt ill while staying at Saint Laurent. He went to find a Creole maïtif (clairvoyant) who presented him with a mirror, announcing to him that he was going to see in it the face of the one who had playé /bewitched, cast a spell on/ him. G... saw nothing in the mirror. The maïtif was not upset at this and revealed to him that the playeur must be someone in his wife's family. G... then recalled a dispute he had had some time previously with one of his wife's brothers and let himself be convinced: since that day he has not gotten along with his brother-in-law.

754 /246 cont./
755 The maïtif asked 2,000 francs from him as the price of
● 648 his consultation.

789 Curse. Someone who judges himself victim of evil-doing has at his disposal a supreme resource: /247/ cursing his adversary, that is, appealing directly to the supreme God, Masa Gadu, to ask him to punish his adversary. This is called seni gadu -- sending God -- against someone. To do that, while asking God to kill him or make him sick, one kneels and strikes the ground with both hands in the presence of the adversary or in front of his house. This act is regarded as totally different from wisi, for one is relying on the justice of God, who judges with equity and punishes only the guilty.

However that may be, cursing is for the Refugee Blacks a very serious act. It may happen that, feeling guilty, the source of the injustice asks pardon and promises to make amends for his misdeeds. The one who uttered the curse again implores Masa Gadu in order to take back the words he spoke: "He has given me satisfaction, do nothing against him." But oftener still it happens that a complicated affair is involved, that both parties concerned are persuaded of their legitimate [692] ground and curse each other. The case must then be carried before the grand man and straightened out at once or misfortunes [695] may pounce upon both lineages. The grand man judges without appeal and inflicts à punishment on the one who was wrong [778] on the main issue of the debate. Then he obliges the ad- [782] versaries to be reconciled before the fraga tiki, where the offering of tafia and water is made.

[828] The effect of these conceptions is to render nearly im- [754] possible hidden hatreds and rancors, which the Refugee Blacks fear very much, for they are the source of wisi.

688 In general, the act of getting angry in public and serious-
689 ly insulting somebody is considered as an offense against moral and religious law, capable of attracting misfortunes; it is an

/250 cont./

789 396 There exist special ɔbia for the building of boats. The opening of the hull in the fire, a delicate operation, sometimes fails. To insure its success everyone possesses a personal recipe inherited from his father or uncle. It does not call by name and directly upon the action of a god; the Boni do not have a clear idea about the origin or the nature of these rites. It is a matter of a maceration of two or three kinds of leaves, generally belonging to the secondary flora which surrounds the villages, and they vary from one man to another. One pours this maceration over the overturned boat before the burning is begun, while saying: "The boat must not split, it must open well."

832 [693] The laws of Odun forbid the use of charms aimed at forcing the love of a woman one desires; that would infringe on a person's freedom, therefore wisi. It is very /251/ possible however that certain people go to get charms of this kind from Creole magicians. But they take for granted, on the other hand, the ɔbia believed to permit men who have little success with women to have more in the future.

951 789 There does not seem to be any hierarchy of ɔbia nor is one category of ɔbia believed to be stronger by nature than another; in fact, the Refugee Blacks are seen to go readily to ask one divinity for an ɔbia in order to protect themselves from another. Here is an example:

464 [648] In 1951 the administration had a systematic cleaning of the Petit Inini River begun, in order to rid its course of innumerable pieces of fallen wood which were making the use of motors on boats difficult. A team of Boni were employed in this work under the direction of a Creole foreman. While the [776] [787] work was being done, a Papa gadu "came into the head" of an old woman named M... of the Awara Bakka lo. It revealed that it was opposed to this work, for it lived in exactly this 464 776 place and the noise of the motors bothered it. Upon their return to Boni country, the men charged with this work learned the

752 834 [191]

/255 cont./
Abiaman who treats a wound made by a firearm to observe chastity during the whole duration of the treatment. It is for this reason that the Boni hesitate to have gunshot wounds cared for in hospitals.

784 [262]

Kina. The interdictions of the Refugee Blacks generally have to do with food. There are five categories of them to our knowledge:

[753]

--Bwasi kina, basic kina, mark of patrilineages, the breaking of which gives leprosy;

--Akka kina, often called gadu kina, established by divination and believed to be imposed by the akka;

--Gadu kina, mark of possession by a divinity;

--Obia kina, interdiction attached to each object involving a magic power, and which must be observed for this power to last;

--Finally, local kina, particularly the kina de, days of rest, going back to the idea of the day of rest of the local divinity. They observe, for example, that the Mana River has a kina de on Sunday. The Saramaka observe it strictly. The Boni we took on the Mana in 1949 went to find out from the Saramaka, and asked us to stop navigation on Sunday, for this kina was very urgent. It is noteworthy however that the Boni bow in such circumstances before the will of the Europeans, as with respect to their own kina de of Friday; in effect they are assuming that if they are ordered to be on duty, it is the European alone who bears the responsibility for breaking the kina.

[948]

[428] [192] [193]

It is possible that the kina alluded to by Mr. W.F. Van Lier and which, among the Djuka, would be imposed on a whole matrilineage are also local kina; in any case no kina is transmissible through the mother, all the Refugee Blacks are explicit on that point.

/290 cont./

426 here, 5,000 there. But these loans are never large and do not constitute an effective process for grouping financial assets.

150 525 The so-called subscription societies so common in Black Africa are totally contrary to the thinking of the Refugee Blacks, in the same way as games of chance. In 1958 the Maripasoula post, on the occasion of a festival, had organized a tombola. When the principle of it was explained to the Boni, they were unanimous in thinking that the Europeans had odd amusements. Few of them agreed to buy tickets, and the ones who had not won anything left embittered, with the feeling of having been involved in an immoral operation.

159 571 High esteem attached to contracts. This inaptitude for forming groups and combining assets contributes very much toward crystallizing the society of the Refugee Blacks in its present form by opposing all large-scale initiative. On the other hand, it develops the sense of personal responsibility. The Refugee Blacks are especially strict with respect to money (1).

197 599 422

[548]

1. This with regard to their mutual relations; as for debts to Europeans, they are not prompt in paying them back; but marked deception, borrowing done for the purpose of swindling, are very rare with the Refugee Blacks.

[829] Custom lays down as a strict principle that everything must be paid for. No one may live at the expense of someone

[613] else, no one may borrow without paying back. If a man died before repaying a debt, the members of his lineage would club together to pay it off.

/292 cont./

In that can doubtless be seen the most likely explanation of the absence, in the tribes of Refugee Blacks, of any internal trade. There are not even markets in the villages. In practice only Creole and Asian traders are patronized.

The repugnance which the Refugee Blacks have for trading with one another contributes toward preventing the development of specialized professions among them. Specialization does actually exist: one man is particularly good at building boats, another is a competent carpenter, still another devotes himself mainly to fishing; but the Refugee Blacks exercise these specialties with respect to other peoples and not with respect to one another. Nobody fails to build his own boat, his house, to cut his clearings himself. If it were otherwise, classes and castes would rapidly be created, and that is precisely what the moral law of the Refugee Blacks condemns. A special effect of this conception is to preserve family custom from deteriorating, by preventing the rich from becoming great polygamists maintaining vast mistresses. We have never heard it said that a richer man paid someone to perform for him the customary work he owes to his wives, clearings, house, boat. Whatever his wealth may be, he continues to do these jobs by the sweat of his brow, and that constitutes toward maintaining in its meaning and value the tacit contract concluded between husband and wife.

Thus the geographic conditions, associated with influences of a social and psychological order, impose on the Refugee Blacks a unique economy, based on a symbiosis with the coast populations in the form of piece-work or temporary wage-earning.

6:Herault--464 K-5 (1948-1958) 1961 SR8 Bush Negroes SR8
Boni

/292 cont./

Relations with the Other Populations

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The tribes of Refugee Blacks do not constitute a closed world. They have lived since their formation in close symbiosis with the neighboring populations: autochthonous Indians, Europeans, and Creoles. Their traditions and their conception of life have been strongly influenced by these, not because they have lost anything of their interior unity, but because they have accepted, at least collectively, the idea that they have bonds and duties toward other men.

Just as their economy on the material plane is based on exchange, so they consider the symbiosis of their group with the neighboring groups as the normal order of the universe. The misfortunes undergone by their ancestors have given them an extreme horror of violence; they consider peace a precious blessing common to all nations, and their moral principles which forbid harming anyone extend to all men. It is clear that these notions are less clearly understood on the individual level and that there are, as elsewhere, some thefts and abuses of trust. But, on /293/ the collective level, the relations between the Refugee Blacks and their neighbors are established on a base of trust, loyalty, and honesty not found to the same degree in Africa.

Relations with the other tribes. The Boni do not have any well-defined political ties with the other tribes of Refugee Blacks, but the grand men have semiofficial relations through the medium of messengers, and commit one another rather frequently.

The Boni have harbored a tenacious resentment against the Djuka for having in former times allied themselves with the Dutch against them, but this resentment, chiefly collective in nature, has died down with time; it does not prevent individual relations from being cordial.

6:Hurault--465 K-5 (1948-1958) 1961 SR8 Bush Negroes SR8
Boni

/293 cont./

619 829 The Saramaka are very highly esteemed everywhere, for it is unanimously assumed that their magic is stronger, their techniques more perfected, than those of the other tribes.

175 648 Relations with the Indians. The relations between the Boni and the Oayana Indians are extremely curious and interesting. They were probably established from the end of the 18th century on. Several writers have stated that Boni and Indians fought each other for a long time; the examination we made of authentic archive documents, unfortunately few in number, capable of throwing light on the history of the Maroni, does not confirm this hypothesis (1). One can think on the contrary that symbiotic

175 726 1. The only combats pointed out took place about 1840 between the Boni and the Wayakulé "Oyaricoulets" Indians, a very primitive tribe who lived on the Oulémari and was itself at war with the Oayana.

175 648 729 The Boni were certainly already allied with the Oayana at the time of the battles on the Maroni in 1793, since after their defeat the survivors, grouped around Agosu son of Boni, took refuge on the Maruini River which they went up as far as the region of its sources, where nobody could catch up with them. Now it was precisely there that the Oayana Indians were living at the end of the 18th century. They would not have tried this maneuver if they had not had the certainty of finding refuge

/293 cont./

175 with their allies. The sites of
648 their villages, marked on Coudreau's
727 map (1888) are in immediate proximity to those of former Oayana villages.

175 relations must have been created rapidly and in a very natural
648 fashion. The grand man of the Boni is in a way the suzerain of
[643] the Indian chiefs; this situation was not imposed by force; it results from the privileged situation of the Boni on the river, which until recent times obliged the Indians to deal through them in order to trade with the outside world.

Although the Boni took advantage of this situation in days gone by to impose arbitrary rates of exchange upon the Indians, this relation must not be imagined as the exploitation of con-
648 quered by conqueror. It is based on the absolute respect of each
829 group for the beliefs and social structure of the other, and an activity for each befitting its inclination. The proverb says:
[439] "To the Boni the river, to the Indians the forest." Thus it is that the Boni traditionally buy arrows from the Indians, while the latter buy paddles from them; the meaning of this symobl is perfectly understood by both.

648 Marriages between the two groups, without being for-
582 bidden, are regarded as contrary to custom (2).

159 2. The marriage of Grand Man
156 Awemay to an Indian woman about
643 1815 was inspired by complex
648 motives. Toward the end of his life,
582 Awemay could no longer stand the Boni, his imperious personality putting up badly with their individualism and their taste for discussion. He had established the Indian country a farming habitation in which he lived nearly all

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year; by taking an Indian woman as his wife he apparently sought to humiliate his subjects.

Awensay's children and grandchildren were all dead in 1957 except for two women, both sterile. There has been no other case of marriage between Boni and Indians.

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582

439 /294/ In practice, the basis for commercial exchanges is the following: the Indians furnish hammocks, and above all dogs trained for hunting, to which great value is attached. The Boni furnish boats. In days gone by they also brought imported objects, machetes, axes, and beads, but this form of trade has disappeared since the Indians have had the possibility of getting supplies from the Europeans.

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Several observers, coming after Coudreau (1890) and Crévaux (1937) in particular, have expressed the opinion that these relations were founded on fear and that the Boni, utilizing mysterious means of pressure, used to oppress the Indians.

After seven missions spent in contact with both, we affirm that these assertions are without foundation. On the contrary, one can only admire the way in which these primitive groups have been able to create loyal and trusting relations with one another. The Indians and Boni who have worked with us have always shown themselves happy to be together. To realize this, it was sufficient to hear the animated conversations they used to have in the evening around the campfires about their respective families, the events which took place in their villages, fishing, or hunting.

/294 cont./

• 648 It seems that in these relations, both bring more patience and tolerance to bear than toward the people of their own group. It is excessively rare to see disputes arise between Indians and Boni, when there sometimes are some within each group.

186 The feelings which the Boni have toward the Indians are complex: they feel superior in physical strength, effectiveness, and organization; they make fun of the Indians' puerile eagerness for beads and jewelry, of the begging attitude of certain ones among them. But they admire them for their cleverness, 829 their intimate knowledge of the forest, and fear them for the supernatural powers they attribute to them. Sure of themselves, fearing nothing from the bush, never getting lost, unrivalled hunters and fishermen, the Indians appear to them to be endowed with unique faculties which other men do not possess. We have happened to hear in camp reflections such as this: "It is going to rain, the Indians are making shacks."

829 The Boni feel an intense fear of Indian magic. Not one 152 of them would dare to seriously displease an Indian, and even if he feels he has been wronged, in most cases he will not dare complain (1).

961 787 829

1. In the search for the magic causes of death, it happens that divination may incriminate the actions of an Indian medicine man. In such a case the legal action of the Boni is extinguished, for the principle is that the Indian medicine man does not hurt anyone without a reason. It is considered that the deceased must have gravely injured him and that he deserved his fate.

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648 A picturesque incident once more showed us this attitude in the course /295/ of a circuit on the Litani in 1952. When [262] we passed through AloTaé village, our four Boni boatmen, who had killed some coutinarou, had prepared a very appetizing dish for themselves; they had scarcely begun to eat when several Indians arrived unexpectedly who joined in the conversation, sat down beside them, then began to dip their spoons into the pot. Other Indians came and, continuing to talk things over deliberately and without hurrying, came and took their share of the feast. The Boni were progressively pushed back to the [252] second row and finally gave up. Three of them laughed about [324] this incident which was familiar to them; the fourth was furious but he did not dare say anything, for, said he to us, if he struck the Indians as he wanted to, he risked being bewitched.

648 In truth, what is the nature of the authority that the grand 643 man of the Boni is supposed to exercise over the Indians? Does it involve precise obligations, a tribute, vexatious measures? Not in the least: it is reduced nowadays to two things:

--The principle of the obedience of the Indian village heads to the person of the grand man;

--The interdiction of transport by boat in the Boni fashion.

One can only approve of this interdiction which protects the Indians more than it harms them. As for the personal influence of Grand Man Difo, it is extremely favorable; he has a profound knowledge of the language and customs of the Indians, toward whom he has always exhibited an interest and sympathy which are certainly sincere. When, during the ceremonies at the fraga niki, he appeals to the ancestors to ask them to watch over the Boni, he does not fail to add: gaã yyyka, de mu luku de Wapi: Ancestors, watch over the Indians.

648 It is also said of the Boni that they are interested in the Indians only in order to traffic with them. Even if that were true -- we have shown how inexact this assertion was -- we should hold all the same that it is much less dangerous for the

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• 648 Indians to trade with them than with the Europeans and Creoles; the Boni are a graded society in which things tend to take place according to well-defined norms. It suffices to compare the Oayana Indians, who have kept the essentials of their civilization, with the Indians of the Oyapok to be convinced that the Boni have protected the former much more than they have oppressed them.

[464] Relations with the Creoles. The Boni are in constant contact with Creole gold miners and traders, for the benefit of whom they carry out many kinds of work (boating, tree-felling, construction). Most of them speak the Creole dialect very well and are well informed on the Creole type of life.

[191 829] On the whole, relations between the two groups are good.

[829] On the Upper Maroni, it is mainly a matter of Creoles of African blood, who have come from the British West Indies, whom the Boni do not consider to be extremely different from themselves. Many have been settled there for a very long time, and individual friendships have become established; yet the two groups have not the least tendency to merge.

/296/ The Creoles have only scorn for the civilization of the Refugee Blacks, which reminds them of a detested African past. They have a feeling of superiority and do not cease exhorting the Boni to adopt their clothing and way of life.

829 The feelings that the Boni have toward the Creoles are complex; they clearly perceive that the activity of the gold miners is artificial and that isolated people are incapable of living by their own efforts in the midst of this pitiless forest. When they have become old and sick, the gold miners experience the worst distress and literally die of hunger until they are 888 evacuated to the hospice of Saint Laurent. Among the Refugee Blacks, old men are assured of a decent life in the midst of the members of their lineage, who surround them with affectionate respect.

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888 888 829 This is a point of view which has great importance in the eyes of the Boni, for whom finishing one's days at the hospice or being reduced to asking for the help of outsiders constitutes the worst downfall.

829 They fear, moreover, as we have shown, Creole magic which they liken to a form of wisi.

On the other hand, they are impressed by the attainments of the Creoles, the real spirit of initiative and the strong personality of some of them; moreover, the Boni who have been to Cayenne have noticed the solicitude of the administration 829 with respect to the population of the communes. For all these 177 reasons there exists among the Boni a certain body of opinion 178 in favor of creolization. But the very unique type of life of the [114] Boni and their desire to keep their special customs attach them to their ancestral form of life; about 1890 the explorer Coudreau, observing the same facts, was predicting imminent creolization of the Boni. In fact, this did not happen, and it is unlikely to.

• 648 464 Traditional relations with Europeans. The Refugee Blacks constitute an important element in the economic life of the Guianas; on behalf of the administration and European enterprises they perform many jobs (boating, wood-floating, tree-felling). 648 461 They are not well adapted to other kinds of work, but in these [465] activities which fit with their traditional mode of life they are equal if not superior to any labor. Very highly paid, they work with speed, effectiveness, and intelligence, exhibiting an initiative and sense of duty not commonly found in Africans(1).

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1. It is to be noted that if they stop leading their traditional kind of life, for example if they settle permanently near European establishments, they rapidly lose these qualities.

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648 So relations between the Europeans and Refugee Blacks have nothing in common with what one observes in Africa: one notes their faults without indulgence, but one admires them for their strong personality, their art, and their techniques, and one bears an esteem for them which is not feigned.

829 The Refugee Blacks feel neither hate nor jealousy toward Europeans. This /297/ may surprise one at first, for they have had to put up with cruel wars fought against them, which have left a precise memory with them; but the explanation is simple: the Boni have no hate because their life is happy, and they have no jealousy because they do not try to imitate the Europeans and are satisfied with their own civilization.

193 186 On this subject it will be noted that the Refugee Blacks recall the time of slavery without shame and without any inferiority complex; this is simply because they do not have the feeling of being the descendants of slaves; they feel themselves to be the descendants of warriors who imposed their independence by force of arms; the Djuka, exaggerating to themselves the scope of the successes won by their ancestors, even have a certain superiority complex. Proud of their ancestors, the Refugee Blacks do not feel in any way inferior to the white man and behave toward him as equal to equal.

648 [184] The Boni, like the Djuka and the Saramaka in Surinam, live under a de facto regime which is equivalent to internal autonomy. This regime was instituted for the Boni from their first contact with the French administration in 1861; it has always been associated with perfect loyalty.

The French administration, which until recent times did not have any permanent establishment in the interior of the country, has never tried to interfere with the interior functioning of the tribes which went on and still goes on according to their own law. The Refugee Blacks have thus been spared that hybrid jurisdiction, applying a customary law altered by European ideas,

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648 which in Black Africa has so powerfully contributed toward the destruction of traditional structures.

[829] Truth to tell, the problem was simpler, for the conceptions of the Refugee Blacks, involving no form of oppression of individuals and assuming the right of the woman to self-determination, reduce to the vanishing point the sources of disputes between individuals and groups.

[162] In 1946 the administrative post of Maripasoula was created, near the confluence of the Lawa and the Inini. Since that time, the gendarmerie has administered to the satisfaction of all and without any incident a heterogeneous population of 2,000 persons, gold miners, Refugee Blacks, and Indians, scattered over [743] a vast territory. The medical post created at Maripasoula in 1949 is very much frequented by the Boni and performs an extremely useful function on the psychological as well as on the social level.

The relations of the various groups give rise to very small frictions, one with another, but the Refugee Blacks never give occasion for intervention in the internal affairs of their groups. [505] Respectful of the administration, they carry out punctually their commitments to their employers, insuring all the transport on the river according to a modus vivendi established for a long time (1).

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On this subject it is to be noted that disagreeable incidents occur each time the Boni deal with inexperienced travelers who do not know the customs of the river or do not wish to apply them. In a general way the Refugee Blacks, of their own accord respectful of anyone who comes to do a useful job, loathe tourists; they cannot stand being photographed or observed like queer animals.

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648 Never do they appeal to the courts to settle their differences, still less their family quarrels; never do they beg for help.

829 The Europeans' material superiority does not impress them: the whites are more able in mechanics, but they are more able in magic, that is all. The efficacy of European medicine does [798] not shake their convictions: if someone has reasons to believe himself victim of the anger of a gadu, he begins by making the sacrifices intended to appease it, then asks it for authorization to have himself cared for by the whites. Personally we have [123] never done anything to disabuse the Boni of this idea which [753] satisfies at the same time the requirements of medicine and those of social discipline, for it must not be forgotten that for them 177 sickness is punishment for an offense. Thus one sees that unless it is deliberately brought to bear against tradition and against the leaders, the influence of Europeans is without appreciable effect on the civilization of the Refugee Blacks. It is no longer the same when contacts become too frequent, tend to alter drastically the way of life, and especially when these influences become openly "civilizing."

178 The Future of the Refugee Blacks

Obliged to solve all the problems of life by their own means, the Refugee Blacks have been able to adapt with intelligence to the evolution of the modern world, and their custom 648 has kept all its vigor and effectiveness. Their future would not seem to be threatened if a wave of opinion had not come to the surface these past years, in French Guiana as well as in Surinam, to destroy their civilization, deemed primitive and barbarous, and to fuse them into the population of the coast. This result would be obtained in particular by schooling and evangelization.

6: Hu'aalt--475 K-5 (1948-1958) 1951 SR8 Bonk Negroes SR8
Boni

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114 Here desirous of remaining on the plane of strict scientific objectivity, we shall avoid entering the discussion of the benefit springing from this action, which, moreover, would necessitate a long development. We shall limit ourselves to showing that it appears to us to be doomed to failure.

871 177 --The experiment of schooling has been made for more than 30 years among the Boni in the village of Kotika. Half a dozen children, doing well in their studies, left for Surinam and broke with their native group. In the others, the teaching received left only faint traces. As a matter of fact, there is no room in a normal intelligence to receive at the same time the mass of technical knowledge necessary for holding one's own in the society of the Refugee Blacks and ordinary school instruction. One necessarily drives out the other; now the Boni are extremely fond of their free life on the great river, which assures them very satisfactory material conditions of living. [829]

797 177 184 --Evangelization has been carried on with perseverance for more than 200 years with the Refugee Blacks of Surinam. It has not given appreciable results. It has been the same in French Guiana with the action carried on with the Saramaka working /299/ near the communes of the coast (1), and more recently with the Boni of the Upper Maroni.

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1. The Saramaka not only have no tendency to be converted, but they exert a significant influence on the population of the communes. On the Oyapok the Saramaka healer has numerous clients, and in spite of the clergy's interdiction, many women go to the possession dances of the Papa gado serpent gods.